MATERIAL FOR A HISTORY OF ISLAMIC TEXTILES UP TO THE MONGOL CONQUEST*

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INTRODUCTION

PREVIOUS TO 1914, VON KREMER, MEZ, KARABACEK, AND OTHER DISTINGUISHED GERMAN orientalists had discovered notes on the textiles of early Islam in those texts available at the time and had published them in rather a casual and unsystematic manner; but the far wider range, ever increasing, of texts available in good editions today contains raw materials for research virtually inaccessible to these earlier authorities. In particular one might mention the three manuals of police regulations for petty trading, manufacture, and the maintenance of public morality (Ḥisba), published within the last five years. They display an interest in the social and economic life of the people rare in oriental authors and describe manufacturing processes which literary men ignore.

Much of the material collected by me on Persia has already been set forth in Gaston Wiet's excellent essay, "Une Liste alphabétique des localités de la Perse célèbres comme centres de tissage" in his *L'Exposition persane de 1931*. Though most useful and easy to consult, there were several criticisms that one might make of this method of treatment. The list naturally gives no indication of the groups of cities manufacturing similar types of materials; being a list only, though a very good one, it could not show the interdependence of the manufacturing groups of Persia, Iraq, Egypt, North Africa, Yemen, or Spain, for Persia was treated as a single isolated unit. Nor did the scope of the "Liste" extend to the examination of chronology, the correction of faulty and misleading texts or translations, nor the serious comparison and collation of sources. Nearly all M. Wiet's sources are geographical.

Another excellent article, published by A. Grohmann in the *Encyclopaedia of Islām* and its *Supplement*, under the heading "Ṭirāz," contains some of the material on Egypt embodied in this book. The scope of this succinct little article is limited by its very nature, though an astonishing variety of sources has been consulted. In addition to the articles mentioned above, many monographs are to be found scattered throughout the archaeological and art journals which describe finds of Muslim textiles. On the completion of this book that part of the *Survey of Persian Art* containing Phyllis Ackerman's[1] article on Persian textiles had not yet appeared, but most of the sources she mentioned in a footnote, though not all, are listed below.

* When it was suggested that I might examine Arabic and Persian literature for historical notes and comments on medieval Islamic art, I had intended to collect and collate all information relating to the so-called minor arts. In the process of reading many classical texts I discovered, however, that nearly half of the material related to textiles. Other materials mainly concerned the mining of metals, the discovery and working of precious stones, on which a number of treatises have been written; there were notes on pottery, leather, arms and armor, reed mats, on wooden utensils such as bowls and combs, on paneling and mimbars, tortoise shell, ivory, and on asbestos. Eventually, I was obliged to confine my research to textiles, and, moreover, to work within the early period of Islam before the Mongol cataclysm. When time and opportunity allow, I hope to publish an article on Muslim pottery and glass planned on similar lines.

[1] "Textiles of the Islamic Periods. A. History" (London and New York, 1938–39), III, 1995–2162, Figs. 644–721, VI, Pls. 981–1106.

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During the retyping, I was enabled to consult C. J. Lamm's *Cotton in Mediaeval Textiles*.[2] This very recent publication had not previously been available to me, and there I found more scattered notes with no attempt at a critical examination. A great deal of his material had already been incorporated in my book.

Although some of my material was translated and published during the course of my research itself, a great deal of new information is contained here; the chapters relating to Spain, the Maghreb, Armenia, Transoxiana, and Yemen, besides those on dyers and technical methods, are almost wholly new. Even with regard to the parts of Persia and Egypt already documented by others, I have sometimes been fortunate in obtaining earlier materials of some significance. Critical examination of the texts, too, may have afforded some results.

THE ORIENTAL SOURCES

A few years ago Hasan Muhammad al-Hawary[3] summarized the position of studies in Islamic textiles thus: "L 'étude des tissus islamiques est encore à faire. Cela est dû aux raisons suivantes: *a*). Les auteurs arabes traitèrent peu des industries et des arts, se bornant a décrire les batailles et les révolutions intérieures. *b*). Les tissus datant dès premiers siècles de l'hégire étaient jusqu' à une époque toute récente, très peu nombreux." The position is now greatly changed, and Islamic textiles have become more and more plentiful, though his first assertion holds only too true.

Any references to the great, growing, and ever changing industry of cloth manufactures of the early period are scarce; even during the great *"Blütezeit"* of the caliphate under the Abbasid dynasty the Arab authors make but casual and occasional remarks on the arts. The *Fihrist* does contain the names of books on art, even painting, but these have not been preserved, and, even had they survived they would doubtless all too often be found to consist merely of a series of witticisms vaguely connected with pictures. Consequently, to glean any material whatsoever it is necessary to read a very great many works containing little relevant information, sometimes none. The geographers are, of course, the most accessible and promising hunting ground for scraps and items of interest for reconstructing a social history of Islamic civilization; but even these often curtly dismiss the industries of some great city or are silent concerning them, while treating at length of some unimportant village. Their uncritical attitude to the extracts which they plagiarize without acknowledgment from earlier sources, transferring a section of the text with no regard to the altered conditions of their own times, often deprives what little they have to say of much value.

Historians allude to various textiles by name, but these are few and far between, not at all easy to find in the mass of battle and intrigue. Other incidental notes must be sought in the Adab or polite literature, where elegance in costume and the decrees of the arbiters of taste and fashion are set forth for those aspiring to follow the mode. The manuals of Ḥisba have been spoken of above. Almost anywhere else in the immense field of Arabic and Persian

[2] Paris, 1937. This book was placed at my disposal through the kindness of Professor Wace, Cambridge.

[3] "Un Tissu abbaside de Perse," *Bull. Instit. d'Égypte*, XVI (1934), 61.

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literature the searcher may chance upon observations scattered here and there. Few Persian authors have been consulted in comparison to those who wrote in Arabic.

Up to the present the editing of Arabic literature has, in the main, been concerned with the production of a text, as correct as possible, independent of collation with parallel passages in other authors. Consequently, surprising discrepancies are evident in writers who claim to quote the same passage.[4]

MISCELLANEOUS SOURCES

Through lack of time and knowledge I have not been able to utilize the contemporary sources of the earlier period in Europe, but after the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries there is a great wealth of allusion in the works of European travelers to oriental manufactures, which they regarded with some respect. Originally, I had intended to include notes from European accounts of travel in the East, but as most fall outside the period which I finally resolved to cover, 600 A.D. to 1300 A.D., I have for the most part limited myself to oriental sources, while, where it seems relevant, including European authors already examined. Another entire source book could be composed from European accounts of the East alone. A few Chinese and Hebrew authors in translation have been consulted, and there may be some Sanskrit works in translation which might give the names of Islamic textiles or accounts of Islamic cities, but I have not encountered these if they exist.

The history, of course, cannot be complete until every possible source has been examined, but those texts available and most likely to be fruitful of information have been ransacked for any allusions they may contain. To peruse the whole of such immense works as the histories of Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr is manifestly impossible but, without reading from cover to cover, notes have been added from both.[5]

IDENTIFICATION OF TEXTILES

Little attempt has been made to identify the stuffs discussed by the authors with those discovered by archaeologists. To do so would be premature, while the study of Islamic textiles is still in its infancy. It is possible that textiles may be found with their type name inscribed on them, as for instance, a barrakān; the Kaaba coverings always had their title, Kiswa, contained in the inscription. Because so many oriental names for types of fabrics are dubious and ambiguous, most (perhaps too many) have been given in transliteration, which is really the only means of consistent identification.

[4] The comparison of recently published texts with older ones has frequently led me to make emendations or suggestions, superficially rather arbitrary, on the ground that a parallel text has a reading with a more suitable sense.

[5] A few references which came to my notice too late to be inserted in the text find their place in the footnotes. The poet of clothes, Maḥmūd Ḳārī of Yezd, was consulted by me too late to be quoted in this study, but his work contains some names of textiles from towns not mentioned herein; for instance, it mentions Antioch stuffs. If conditions permit my consulting this *Divan,* I may be able to place a list of his stuffs in the "Addenda."

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ARRANGEMENT

The mass of material embodied in this history tends to obscure the main trends of cultural movements. In a source book such as this is, prolixity is almost unavoidable. The work has been arranged in a kind of geographical sequence, dealing with the countries in the east and then moving to the western provinces. Ṭirāz and its origins, definition, and history have been dealt with in the first two chapters. The manufactures of Iraq naturally fall into place after those of Baghdad. Each chapter is arranged chronologically, though ṭirāz cities have generally been dealt with at the beginnings of the chapters.

I have given the question of maps much serious thought.[6] Our knowledge of early Muslim geography, more particularly in Egypt, is still rather vague.[7]

The terms "Muslim" and "Islamic" as used here connote a cultural area and not a religious division. The Arab eruption overflowed into the former territories of the Byzantine and Persian empires. It brought the Far East, China and India, into closer contact with the Middle East than it had ever been before, while, in time, the syncretistic Islamic culture spread southward into Africa. The two main ingredients which went to form the eclectic civilization of Islam were the legacies left by Byzantium and the Sasanians. No study of the Arab era which does not examine the state of the people anterior to Islam can be complete, for before the birth of Muhammad great changes had been taking place both in Byzantium and Iran, two strong powers only momentarily physically exhausted from their long struggle with each other. Their cultural influence continued unhindered to mingle in the four hundred years of the Baghdad caliphate. The Umayyad kingdom of Syria must have been a strong patron of Byzantine craftsmen, but even in Baghdad one reads of skilled Roman technicians, usually architects or those learned in the practical application of mechanics.

In the ancient Hellenistic world of Egypt, Syria, and northern Iraq (which recent discoveries have shown to be very strongly under Roman influence), the character of the arts greatly altered in the two or three centuries before Islam. The debased naturalism of late Hellenistic art had been giving way to an abstract and decorative tendency in every sphere, while yet preserving many of the ancient motifs and designs. Coptic art in particular seems to have drawn much of its inspiration from truly eastern sources—from Persia which conquered and held Egypt for some time—and perhaps from the peasant art of the country itself. The extensive and mighty Persian empire, though still continuing to derive cultural elements from Byzantium, had been subtly altering the very nature of its Hellenistic legacy ever since the nationalist Sasanian dynasty had come to power. The silver dishes and the rock reliefs of

[6] Each "centre de tissage" will be shown if the site can be ascertained.

[7] For Persia and Iraq Le Strange's *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* is ample, and for Syria, his *Palestine Under the Moslems* contains quite an adequate map. The Maghreb, Spain, and Egypt present more difficulty, but Lévi-Provencal's *Le Peninsule ibérique* has a good sketch map of Muslim Andalus. Maps of North Africa are difficult to obtain, and I used Wüstenfeld's map in *Geschichte der Fatimiden Chalifen*, Cook's *Handbook of Algeria and Tunis*, and the map supplied with the new edition of the *Aghānī* (in Arabic). The only good maps of Egypt are in Youssouf Kamal's series of maps, also in Arabic, of medieval Egypt; they are really very detailed, but, unfortunately, to date only the Delta is completed. Butler's *Arab Conquest* contains a very poor map.

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Ṭāḳ-i Bustān and other places, the few relics of a perished culture extending from Central Asia to Asia Minor, display the feeling toward abstract design and multiplication of pattern which was to be adopted by Islam. The movement away from naturalism had commenced quite early, witness the city of Palmyra, the paintings of Dura, and doubtless many another Syrian city. Byzantium was itself half an eastern city, depending largely for its resources of vigorous and energetic manpower on the eastern parts of the empire, Cappadocia and Armenia. In Byzantium, too, the revolt against naturalism, obscurely mingled with religious movements, attained its peak in the reign of Leo the Iconoclast, when the representation of holy personages was forbidden and existing representations were destroyed. The new representational art which emerged is completely foreign in spirit.

In no way did the Arabs affect a process that had started before they appeared on the scene; they had no art of their own to oppose to that of the older peoples. They adopted the manufacturing systems in being under previous rulers; they were so ignorant of all the ways of civilization that perforce, they were led to adopt the fiscal, administrative, and legislative systems already existing; during the Umayyad dynasty they introduced few if any innovations, because they had no experience to enable them to do so. Muslim Hadith embodies many of the principles of Roman law, and, although by the time it was formed into a corpus it had a Muslim framework and cast of thought, borrowing from what already existed, it only half realized what had happened. With regard to textiles, however, all that I am concerned to show is that state factories of stuffs of all kinds, previously under Persian and Byzantine monarchs, were automatically adopted by the Arabs into the administrative system and patronage of the Muslim rulers. The whole of the first chapter has been occupied in tracing the origin of this system and its progress in Umayyad times; the first monarch who can be authoritatively stated to have owned such factories was Hishām.

A common source of new influence on both empires was the district known as Armenia, generally in Byzantine hands, but sometimes held by the Persians as the tide of war swayed to and fro on the uncertain frontier. These cities, it seems probable, were the ultimate source of the new movement in southern Persia and Iraq. The Persian motifs in Coptic textiles may really be Armenian. The Armenian textile industry influenced the cities of the Persian Gulf through the workers transported there by the Sasanians from cities captured from the Romans. The significance of such a movement requires no emphasis and would well accord with Strzygowski's recognition of Armenia as an architectural center with a character of its own influencing to some extent the provinces on its borders. Armenian textiles suddenly cease to be mentioned (except in texts deriving from earlier sources), and this might be attributed to the rise of new industries in other provinces to oust the Armanī, but I venture the theory that the destruction of Armenia by the Seljuks may have ended Armenian pre-eminence in this field.

Great attention has been paid to the ṭirāz factories, for I cannot but think that they were of first importance in the diffusion of new designs, techniques, and fabrics. There was a network of these factories from India to Spain, though not all were under a single monarch. Each petty princeling had a factory, and even today in San'a of the Yemen the imam maintains his own private factories, probably producing materials similar to those of former cen-

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turies. Gifts from prince to prince included specimens of these precious stuffs; a catalogue of such a present has been set forth in the chapter on Spain. This country, which has hardly been noticed as a great center of ṭirāz factories by previous students, has, it seems, many indeed, situated in nearly all the larger towns. There are, of course, many fine examples of Moorish cloth from the country, though few are of very early date.

Wherever Jewish craftsmen were mentioned I have made a note of the fact, for their activities were especially concerned with the dyeing of cloth, and they seem to have possessed a knowledge of technical processes, which was their monopoly. Where possible I have consulted Hebrew sources in translation. Many indications of Jewish participation in the textile or dyeing trades might be discovered on a careful perusal of Jewish literature of the period.

A few incidental notes in the main body of this work, and in the appendices have been given in an attempt to sketch the intimate commercial relations with Byzantium, Europe, India, and even China. Valuable information could probably be added from Greek and medieval sources. Chaucer, Froissart, and others, might yield the names of some oriental textiles, but such chroniclers of the Crusades whose works were consulted by me are quite devoid of information on this subject.

The trend of the early Islamic art of the six hundred years of the caliphate was radically altered by the Mongol conquest, and it is fitting that this study should end at that point. It is true that some later authors have been added who lived and wrote after the fall of Baghdad; it would have been a pity not to have included them. The old weaving cities were destroyed by the Mongols, who, unlike the Arabs, spread ruin and desolation wherever they went, depopulating vast provinces, though they generally kept the craftsmen and sent them to their families as useful household slaves. New centers were later founded, perhaps with Chinese craftsmen; this partly accounts for the change in postconquest Persian art and distinguishes its character from that of other Islamic countries.

For more reliable evidence than the statements of travelers, which go to compose the larger part of this structure of conjecture, one will have to await the slow and painstaking evidence of archaeologists. The theory which has been built up around the Armenian textiles may prove to be fallacious, being based on literary manipulation rather than on the evidence of the spade. The aim has been to arrange, classify, criticize, and interpret a mass of historical material, but no claim is laid to finality.[8]

[8] It is a pleasant duty to acknowledge the kind assistance I have received from various scholars and friends. To my Arabic supervisor, Professor C. A. Storey, I am deeply indebted for careful guidance in research methods, his invaluable criticism, and the advantage of consulting his wide knowledge of Arabic and Persian literature. Professor Wace and Mr. A. W. Lawrence of the Museum of Classical Archaeology were so kind as to put many books (previously unobtainable and sometimes even unknown to me) at my disposal and to allow me to read in the museum. For books or advice I am also indebted to Professor R. A. Nicholson, Professor F. Krenkow, and Dr. R. Levy. To Professor David Talbot Rice I owe my introduction to Islamic art and the encouragement over a number of years to pursue these studies. My fellow research workers, Dr. Quraishi of Delhi University and Dr. Mu'idh Khan, also occasionally gave me notes or hints for which I have been grateful. I have the pleasure of thanking Trinity College, Cambridge, in particular, my tutor, Mr. A. S. F. Gow, and Edinburgh University for the financial assistance toward three years of research which made it possible to complete this work, which was written in 1938 and finished by March, 1939. The introduction was revised after I came to Aden in 1940 to study for a year the South Arabian dialects.

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CHAPTER I

THE ORIGIN OF THE ṬIRĀZ SYSTEM

A FEATURE OF THE COURTS OF BOTH THE UMAYYAD AND ABBASID DYNASTIES WAS THE LARGE quantity of textiles required there for both clothing and furnishings. An annual gift of clothing was one of the perquisites of the caliphal officers, and was given as a gift of honor to those whom the caliph wished to reward. This gave rise to the institution of those palace factories known as ṭirāz. This term is defined by the *Encyclopaedia of Islām:*

> The word is borrowed from the Persian, and originally means "embroidery"; it then comes to mean a robe adorned with elaborate embroidery, especially one ornamented with embroidered bands with writing on them, worn by a ruler or person of high rank; finally, it means the workshop in which such materials or robes are made. A secondary development from the meaning "embroidered strip of writing" is that of "strip of writing" border, or braid in general, applied not only to the inscriptions, woven, embroidered, or sewn on materials, but also to any inscriptions on a band of any kind whether hewn out of stone, done in mosaic, glass, or faïence, or carved out of wood.[1]

Djawālīḳī gave the following account of the origin of this word:

> Ṭarz, and ṭirāz. A Persian word arabicized. The Arabs used to employ it in their speech. Ḥassān said (i.e., Ḥassān ibn Thābit):
>
> "Light-complexioned, of noble lineage, proud of bearing, of the first ṭirāz."
>
> The Arabs say: "The ṭarz of so-and-so is a fine ṭarz," i.e., his dress and appearance. So that it becomes used of any good thing. Ru'ba said: "I chose of the best of every good thing (ṭarz)."[2]

Thus it appears that the word was known to the Arabs as early as the Prophet himself.

The best general account of the ṭirāz occurs in a fairly late author, Ibn Khaldūn (1332–1406 A.D.), but some of his statements can be verified from other sources:

> One of the splendors of power and sovereignty, and one of the customs of many dynasties was to inscribe (rasama) their names or certain signs (ʿalāmāt), which they had adopted specially for themselves, in the borders of garments (thawb) designed for their wear, made of silk (ḥarīr) or brocade (dībādj) or ibrīsm-silk. The writing of the inscription was to be seen in the weave of the warp and woof of the cloth itself, either in thread of gold, or colored thread without gold, different from that of the thread composing that of the garment, according as the workmen decide to arrange and introduce in the process of their weaving. Thus, the royal robes (al-thiyāb al-mulūkīya) are bordered (muʿlama) with a ṭirāz. It is an emblem of dignity reserved for the sovereign, for those whom he wishes to honor by authorizing them to make use of it, and for those whom he invests with one of the responsible posts of government. Before Islam, the kings of Persia had placed upon their

[1] A. Grohmann, "Ṭirāz," *Encycl. Islām* (Leyden, 1934), IV, 785–93; "Addenda" in *Suppl.*, pp. 248–50. This is largely founded on J. von Karabacek, *Zur Orientalischen Altertumskunde*, I. *Die arabischen Papyrusprotokolle, Sitz. Ber. Phil.-Hist. Kl., Akademie, Wien,* Vol. CLXI (1909).

[2] Djawālīḳī, *Kitāb al-Muʿarrab,* ed. E. Sachau (Leipzig, 1867), p. 102 (ref. from Grohmann, *op. cit.*).

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garments, either the portraits (ṣuwar), or likenesses (ashkāl) of the kings of the country, or certain figures and images designated for this use. The Muslim princes substituted their names for the figures, adding other words considered to be of good augury, which gave the praise of God. Under these two dynasties (the Umayyads, and the Abbasids), it was a most important and honorable concern.

The places for the weaving of those stuffs, situated in their palaces, were called dār al-ṭirāz. The officer (ḳā'im) appointed to inspect them was called ṣāḥib al-ṭirāz. His duty was to inspect the workmen, instruments, and weavers (ḥāka) there, and oversee the payment of their stipends (arzāḳ) and the renewal of their instruments; he also inspected their work. The princes entrusted this post to one of the great nobles of the empire or to one of their trusted clients.

It was the same in Spain under the Umayyads, and under the smaller dynasties (mulūk al-ṭawā'if) who succeeded them, as also in Egypt under the 'Ubaidites (Fatimids), and in the East at the courts of the Persian monarchs, their contemporaries. Then when the demand of the courts for luxury of all kinds diminished, as their power diminished in extent, and independent dynasties became numerous, this office fell into desuetude in most dynasties entirely, and consequently, nominations to it.

When, at the beginning of the sixth century, after Umayyads of the West had lost their power, the Almohads founded their empire, in the early period of their domination they did not adopt this institution because they followed the ideal of piety and simplicity that they learned from the Imam Muhammad al-Mahdī ibn Tūmart. For they scrupled to wear silk (ḥarīr) or gold. So thus the office of the inspector of the ṭirāz fell into abeyance at their court. However, in the latter part of this dynasty, their descendants adopted something of this usage, but it did not have the same fame as it had in former times.

In our time we have seen in the West, under the Marīnid dynasty, in all the vigour and pride of its youth, many traces of this usage which it derived from the contemporary dynasty of Ibn al-Aḥmar at Granada (629–897 H. [1231–1491 A.D.]) in Spain, which had imitated the petty dynasties and preserved traces of that ancient institution.

As regards the Turkish dynasty, which, in our days, rules over Egypt and Syria, the use of the ṭirāz there is very fashionable, by reason of the extent of their dominion, and the great civilization of their country. Yet the stuffs are not made in the palaces and castles of those princes, and they have not got at their court officers assigned for that purpose. Whatever requirements of this kind they have, are satisfied by weavers who exercise this profession, in silk (ḥarīr) or in pure gold. They call this stuff zarkash from a name borrowed from the Persian. The name of the sultan or emir is written (raḳama) upon them. The workmen make those like all the other precious objects which are destined for the use of the court.[3]

Thus, Ibn Khaldūn, without quoting any authorities, claims a Persian origin for the ṭirāz. Karabacek and others, however, deem this claim extremely hypothetical and look for an origin in the Coptic-Byzantine factories in Egypt before the Muslim conquest, and actual pieces of cloth from those places with place names inscribed on them have come to light. To counterbalance this archaeological evidence for the Western origin of the ṭirāz inscriptions there is only a post-Islamic legend which seems to imply that textiles could be found inscribed

[3] Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolégomènes historiques*, ed. by M. de Slane (Paris, 1862–68), I, 66.

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in Persian. This is preserved in the *Murūdj al-Dhahab* by Mas'ūdī (332 H. [943 A.D.]), and it is repeated in Suyūṭī's *Ta'rīkh al-Khulafā':*

It is related on the authority of Abū 'Abbās Muhammad ibn Sahl who said: "I was secretary to 'Attāb ibn 'Attāb, over the Office of Troops al-Shākirīya in the caliphate of al-Muntaṣir. Now I entered one of the upper floors which was carpeted with sūsandjird carpets (bisāṭ), and a couch (misnad) and a prayer carpet (muṣallā), and pillows (wasā'id) of red and blue. Around the large carpet (bisāṭ) were medallions (dārāt) in which there were figures of people and writing in Persian. I was skilled in the reading of Persian, and there, on the right of the prayer carpet was the image of a king with a crown (tādj) on his head. I read the writing: 'This is the picture of Shirūya, the murderer of his father Abrawīz. He reigned six months.' Then I saw various portraits of kings and my eyes alighted on a picture on the left of the prayer carpet, on which was written: 'The picture of Yazīd ibn Walīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik. He reigned six months.' I was surprised at that, and at their happening to be on the right and left of al-Muntaṣir's throne and I said: 'I do not think his power will last more than six months.' And, by Allah, so it was."[4]

Though the actual inscriptions may not originate in Persia, it is very probable that the factory system called ṭirāz, which spread its network over the middle and eastern parts of the Islamic world, had its origin in the state factories of the Sasanian kings. In several Muslim works, such as the *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif,* and Ibn Isfandiyār's *History of Ṭabaristān,* the custom is mentioned of sending with the taxes products for which a particular province is noted. The following passage from Tha'ālibī's *History of the Kings of Persia,* written before 412 H. (1021 A.D.), claims to establish the actual reign in which this custom was innovated, although one might be justified in thinking that the practice was immeasurably older than the Sasanian period; perhaps this only standardized an ancient custom:

Balāsh (484–88 A.D.) made the inhabitants of each province supply their special products, consisting of objects de vertu (ṭarā'if), and clothing (malābis), etc. He ordered the cost of them to be reckoned as part of the land tax and imposts.[5]

Herein lies the foundation of the network of ṭirāz factories in Persia. This author, too, said Brockelmann, is sometimes more reliable than Ṭabarī himself, for he followed an earlier work in Persian in the preparation of his history. In connection with the organization of industry in pre-Islamic times, the following extract from Christensen is worthy of note:

Le vāstryōshānsālār est le "directeur de l'impôt foncier." Le nom de vāstryōshānsālār, ou vāstryōshbadh signifie le chef des agriculteurs: c'était sur l'agriculture que pesait surtout l'impôt foncier, et comme la taxe se réglait selon la fertilité et la bonne ou mauvaise culture des cantons, il a sans doute incombé au vāstryōshānsālār de veiller sur la culture de la terre, l'arrosage, etc. Probablement que le vāstryōshānsālār a été à la tête du département des finances. Il est à supposer que non

[4] Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab, Les Prairies d'or,* ed. and trans. by C. A. C. Barbier de Meynard and A. J. B. Pavet de Courteille (Paris, 1861–77), VII, 291; Suyūṭī, *Ta'rīkh al-Khulafā',* trans. by H. S. Jarrett (Calcutta, 1881), p. 373.

[5] Tha'ālibī, *Histoire des rois des perses,* ed. and trans. by H. Zotenberg (Paris, 1900), p. 584.

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seulement l'impôt mais aussi la taxe personelle ont été de son ressort; car il porte aussi le titre de hutukshbadh ("chef des artisans") ou préposé à tous ceux qui travaillent manuellement, esclaves, paysans, marchands, etc. Il a dû être, en somme, un ministre des finances doublé d'un ministre de l'agriculture, de l'industrie, et du commerce.[6]

The substantial truth of the assertions of Tha'ālibī is borne out by the fact that, from the earliest conquests, the Arabs frequently took clothing as part of the tax. The prophet accepted the tax of Nadjrān in robes and cuirasses, and this continued down to the time of Rashid. The inhabitants of Egypt (Miṣr) were ordered by the Arabs, as part of their contract, to supply each man with certain articles of clothing. Rūyān and Dunbāwand contracted to pay their tax in money, garments, and vessels. Transoxania sent a tribute to the early Arabs in which silk and garments were included, while Anbār contracted to pay its annual tribute along with a thousand cloaks made in Ḳaṭawān. A biography states that 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, the second caliph, used to sit upon Ḳaṭawān cloaks ('abā'a) made of the flock of wool.[7]

This is again confirmed by an extract from a work entitled the *Djirāb al-Dawla* of a certain Ahmed ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, an extract of which is to be found in Ibn Khaldūn.[8] He listed the taxes in the reign of Ma'mūn and the articles taken along with them to Baghdad:

The Sawād	200 mantles (ḥulla) of Nadjrān
	240 raṭls of terra sigillata (ṭīn al-khatm)
Fars	30,000 bottles of rose water
Kerman	500 pieces of Yemen stuff (matā')
Sind	150 raṭls of Indian aloes wood
Sidjistān	300 mu'aiyan (with circles?)[9] garments
Khurasan	1,000 ingots of silver (var. read. 2,000)
	27,000 garments (thawb) (var. read. matā')
Djurdjān	1,000 pieces of ibrīsm-silk
Ḳūmis	1,000 ingots of silver
Ṭabaristān, Rūyān, and Nehavand	600 pieces of Ṭabarī carpets (ḳiṭ'a fursh)
	200 robes (aksiya)
	500 garments (thiyāb)
	300 napkins (mandīl)
	300 cups (djāmāt)
Gilan	20 robes (aksiya)
Armenia	20 large carpets in relief (busuṭ maḥfūra)[10]
Africa (Ifrīḳīya)	120 large carpets (bisāṭ)

[6] *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (Copenhagen-Paris, 1936), p. 117.

[7] Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān,* trans. by P. Hitti (New York, 1916), I, 98, 102, 104 ff., 395; *ibid.,* trans. by F. C. Murgotten (New York, 1924), II, 167; C. H. Becker, *Ibn Jauzī's Manāqib 'Omar ibn 'Abd el 'Azīz* (Leipzig, 1899), p. 31.

[8] *Op. cit.,* I, 364, cf. text pp. 322–23. Cf. G. Zaidan, *Ta'rīkh al-Tamaddun al-Islāmī* (Cairo, 1903), II, 53f and for taxes, pp. 112f.

[9] Reading mu'aiyan for mu'attab. R. Smith's emendation. See Djāḥiz, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi'l-Tidjāra," ed. by Hasan H. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Revue de l'acad. arabe de Damas,* XII (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 326–51.

[10] Cf. Zaidan (*op. cit.*), who added 530 raṭls of raḳm! Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-Ḳulūb* (Cairo, 1326 H. [1908 A.D.]).

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Egypt, it is notable, does not send any textiles or pottery, but merely its tax of nearly 3,000,000 dinars. Yemen sent 370,000 dinars, without counting stuffs. An even earlier list than this from Ṭabaristān is preserved by Ibn Isfandiyār. It consists of the tribute which the Ispahbad sent to the Abbasid al-Manṣūr, which was the same as had gone to the Sasanians:

> The poll-tax .... 1 dirham of gold for each inhabitant
> 300,000 dirhams, each containing four dangs of white silver
> 300 bales of green silk carpets and quilts
> 300 gold-embroidered garments called Rūyānī and lafuradj
> The same amount of saffron which is of a kind unequaled in all the world.[11]

A stuff called khusrawānī (meaning "kingly, appertaining to the kings of Persia," etc.) is frequently mentioned by oriental writers of the early Muslim period, and the Kaaba even, was covered with it by some caliphs. What exactly this cloth was, I have not been able to discover, though I suspect that it was a term applied to cloth of the type made in the Sasanian palace factories. Hints at the nature of the design on these Persian textiles are occasionally to be encountered in the sources. Ibn al-Faḳīh,[12] quoting al Kalbī, wrote (290 H. [903 A.D.]): "Bahrām used to esteem the Arabs and ride the camel. He is to be seen in the pictures which the Persians paint on their pottery (awānī) and draw on their carpets (busuṭ) and mats (fursh), always riding his camel."

Perhaps the following extract from the *Thousand and One Nights*[13] can give a clue to what the Arabs meant by khusrawānī: "They clothed her with ornaments and cloaks (ḥulla) of the clothing of the Sasanian kings (mulūk al-akāsira), including a garment adorned (manḳūsh) with red gold, having pictures of beasts and birds upon it." This kind of cloth was called ṭardwaḥsh by the Fatimid monarchs and the Mamelukes. Again, Mas'ūdī [14] reported that the Emperor Maurice of Byzantium gave Parwīz a thousand pieces of brocade from the treasury (dībādj khazā'inī) woven (mansūdj) with red gold and other colors. This word khazā'inī is used to refer to the cloth in the official warehouses of the Abbasid caliphs.

From the beginning of Muslim domination in Egypt, and probably from long before that, Coptic cloth was imported into the Hejaz, to Mecca and Medina, for Azraḳī said: " 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb covered (literally 'clothed') the Kaaba with Ḳubāṭī (Coptic cloths) from the treasury. He used to write concerning it to Egypt (Miṣr) where it was woven for him, and then 'Uthmān did the same after him. When Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān came, he covered it with two coverings (kiswa), 'Umar's covering of ḳubāṭī, and another of brocade (dībādj)."[15] In a later chapter I have identified those ḳubāṭī stuffs with the materials from the Tinnīs-Damietta group of factories in Egypt, which almost invariably supplied the Kaaba covering, but no indication is given as to the place of origin of the ḳubāṭī here.

[11] Ibn Isfandiyār, *History of Ṭabaristān,* trans. by E. G. Browne (Leyden-London, 1905), p. 118.

[12] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Compendium libri Kitāb al-Boldān,* ed. M. J. de Goeje. *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* [=*B. G. A.*] (Leyden, 1885), V, 178.

[13] *Alf Laila wa-Laila* (Beyrouth, 1914), I, 133.

[14] Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.,* II, 220–21.

[15] *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1857–61), I, 176 (Azraḳī).

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A passage from the *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif*[16] would supply a date for the existence of the ṭirāz system in this northern Egyptian group of factories as early as the time of 'Umar, for it says:

Djāḥiz (150–255 H. [767–869 A.D.]) said: "Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb said that the land of Egypt (Miṣr) at one time produced 4,000,000 dinars, but others assert that it produced 2,000,000 dinars—apart from the recognised number of horses, riding animals, and the fine linen cloth of the ṭirāz (diḳḳ al-ṭuruz)." He further said: "It is well known that cotton pertains to Khurasan, and that linen (kattān) pertains to Egypt. The other peoples in various countries have a certain amount of them which does not, however, equal the quantity in those two places. Sometimes the price of a load of the brocade (diḳḳ[17]) of Miṣr, consisting of linen would fetch the price of a hundred thousand dinars."

As was seen, Egypt in the time of Ma'mūn produced 3,000,000 dinars, but the application of the word ṭirāz to the products of so early a date may be an anachronism on the part of Djāḥiz.

The *Aghānī*[18] uses a phrase of very doubtful significance, which may refer to an inscribed carpet. It states that Ibn Maiyāda had a ladylove who spread out a carpet for him inscribed or quite as likely "striped" and knotted (? firāsh marḳūm maṭmūm). This poet lived on into the early Islamic period.

Superficially, a far more convincing piece of evidence for the early existence of the ṭirāz system at this period is the historical note in al-Baihaḳī's *Kitāb al-Maḥāsin wa'l-Masāwī*,[19] which sets a precise date for the change of the ṭirāz inscription from Greek to Arabic. There is evidence to confirm the story that 'Abd al-Malik did innovate a purely Muslim coinage as Baihaḳī asserts; nevertheless, in spite of this, and despite the comparative earliness of this author—of whom very little is known, except that he was still living in the reign of the Caliph al-Muḳtadir bi'llāh (295–320 H. [908–932 A.D.])—it must be kept in mind that he is the only early author to make such an assertion:

Al-Kisā'ī relates: "I entered the presence of Rashid one day when he was in his audience-hall (īwān), and in front of him lay a great deal of money which had been divided into bags of ten thousand dirhams each, and which he had ordered to be distributed among his special servants. In his hand was a dirham with a glinting inscription, which he was considering. Now he used to converse with me frequently, and he said: 'Do you know who originated this custom of the inscription on gold and silver?' 'Yes, my lord,' I replied. 'It was 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān.' 'What was his reason for doing so?' he said. 'I do not know, apart from the fact that he was the first to institute this inscription,' was my reply. Then he said, 'I shall tell you.

'Paper (ḳirṭās) belonged to the Greeks, and most of the inhabitants of Egypt were Christians following the religion of the emperor, the emperor of the Greeks. The paper was stamped (ṭarraza[20])

16 Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif*, ed. P. de Jong (Leyden, 1867), p. 176. For the revenues of Egypt see Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ, Description topographique et historique de l'Égypte*, trans. by U. Bouriant and P. Casanova (Paris, 1900–20), p. 283.

17 Maḳdisī, [Muḳaddasī], *Descriptio imperii Moslemici*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden 1906), III, 203. Perhaps ṭirāz should be understood as "embroidery" in this passage.

18 *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Cairo, 1927), II, 278.

19 Ed. F. Schwally (Giessen, 1902), p. 498.

20 Translated "stamp" in accordance with Karabacek's researches in his *Papyrus-Protokolle*.

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in Greek with the inscription (ṭirāz) "Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."[21] Thus it continued as it had been, during the early period of Islam, until 'Abd al-Malik came to the throne, and noticed it, being of quick perception. One day he was busy when a paper passed under his hands and he looked at the ṭirāz on it and ordered it to be translated into Arabic, which was duly done. It displeased him, and he said: "What a very disagreeable thing it is for the faith and Islam, that this should be stamped on the paper and that it should be borne on the pottery (awānī), and garments (thiyāb), which, both, are made in Egypt, and the other things made in that country, such as curtains (sutūr), etc., which bear the ṭirāz on account of its (Egypt's) extent and abundant wealth. Its inhabitants produce this paper and it is distributed to all regions and countries with a heathen stamp emblazoned on it."

'So he ordered a letter to be written to 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Marwān, who was governor of Egypt, to cancel the ṭirāz on the garments, paper, and curtains, etc., which used to bear it. He was also to make the manufacturers of paper stamp it with the "Chapter of Unity" (Sura cxii) "God testifies that he is God alone." This is the ṭirāz of the paper only (or specially), unto this day, neither more nor less, nor altered in any way. He wrote to the governors of all regions to cancel all the paper stamped with the Greek stamp in their provinces, and to punish those who were found to have any of it in their possession after the prohibition, with severe chastisement and lengthy imprisonment.

'When the paper with the new stamp was issued and some was taken to Byzantium, the news spread abroad till it reached the emperor, and he had this stamp translated. It displeased and annoyed him so that he went red with anger. He immediately wrote to 'Abd al-Malik. "The manufactures and other articles which bear the ṭirāz belong to Byzantium, and they have continued to be stamped with the Greek ṭirāz until you canceled it. If the caliphs previous to you have acted rightly, you are in error, and if you have acted rightly your predecessors were in the wrong. Choose the alternative you prefer. I am sending you a present worthy of your rank, and I should like you to return to the former ṭirāz on all the precious articles which previously bore it—a requirement, for the fulfilment of which I should be grateful to you."

The story goes on to tell how the caliph refused the emperor's request three times, until he threatened to stamp a phrase containing an imprecation of the prophet on the Byzantine coinage which was used in Muslim countries also, for they lacked a good coinage of their own. 'Abd al-Malik replied by instituting the new coinage mentioned above.

It is strange that the other historians should be silent on this point, and that Ṭabarī and the earlier Balādhurī,[22] though repeating this very story, should all omit to mention fabrics[23] and pottery. Very little reliance, then, must be placed on this passage of Baihaḳī, which smacks more of legend than actual fact.

The first Umayyad known to have ṭirāzī garments was Marwān, probably Marwān II.[24]

[21] These words seem to be transliterated into Arabic from the Syriac: أحا ٥٥حا ٥٥٥٥ صيحا . Is Baihaḳī utilizing a Syriac source?

[22] Cf. Damīrī, *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān,* trans. by A. S. G. Jayakar (London-Bombay, 1906–8), I, 124f; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān,* ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1866), p. 240; *ibid.*, trans by Hitti, I, 383.

[23] Hitti's translation (following Zaidan [*op. cit.*, I, 103; cf. also p. 102 for the article "Ṭirāz"] of ṭawāmīr as "fabrics" seems unjustified in the context, and the word describing where these articles were stamped—at the top (ru'ūs, literally "heads")—could not apply to garments, whereas it fits very well with the sense of paper.

[24] An example bearing his name is quoted by Grohmann, *op. cit.*, p. 792. See also R. Guest and A. F.

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Ḳalḳashandī [25] stated that both the Umayyads and the Abbasids had a dār al-ṭirāz at Alexandria, though he did not give any date for this, and the merest hints of its origins in the Umayyad period are given by the historians. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi stated: "Hishām ibn Ḥassān said, 'I saw on al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī a shirt (khamīṣa) with a border ('alam), in which he used to pray, the gift of Maslama ibn 'Abd al-Malik.' " [26] This is worthy of note because the ṭirāzī garments are often described as "mu-'lam," and Maslama was responsible for the administration of certain royal factories. The same author noted that Yazīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik had an officer over the stores (khazā'in) and the treasuries (buyūt al-amwāl).

Mas'ūdī [27] almost seems to imply a ṭirāz factory system in the time of Sulaimān (96–99 H. [714–17 A.D.]) for he wrote:

Sulaimān was a large eater and his appetite exceeded all measure. He used to wear fine robes, and robes of variegated silk (washī). In his day excellent washī was made in Yemen, Kufa, and Alexandria. All the people used to wear washī for their mantles (djubba), cloaks (ardiya), trousers (sarāwīlāt), turbans ('amā'im), and caps (ḳalansuwa). Nobody of his household used to enter his presence except in washī; thus it was with his friends, governors, and household. He used to wear it while riding, or in the pulpit (mimbar). None of his servants, even the cook, entered his presence except in washī; for the latter used to come before him wearing washī on his breast, and a long hat (ṭawīla) of washī on his head. He (Sulaimān) even ordered that his shroud should be made of washī.

In later times, there was a ṭirāz in Yemen, but I have not come across any note of such an institution in al-Kufa. It seems unlikely that the caliphs would establish a state factory in so turbulent a city. Though no ṭirāz is mentioned in Damascus until Mameluke times, it seems likely that one would be there under the Umayyads. No inscription is noted on the washī of Sulaimān's court.

Hishām's reign (cf. p. 68) provides surer ground. Mas'ūdī [28] claimed:

Hishām used to be fond of robes (kisā'), and carpets (fursh), and warlike materials, and breast-plates (la'ma) . . . . In his days there were made, striped silk (or silk with inscriptions on it ? al-khazz raḳm) and velvets (ḳuṭuf).

No place of manufacture is given. The word raḳm can bear the sense of "embroidery, striped cloth, or writing," but as this striped cloth was common long before Hishām, it is just possible to understand this word in the sense of "silk with inscriptions on it." This khazz-raḳm was one of the products of Armenia, and it seems likely that it means striped cloth there. Nevertheless, the introduction of the ṭirāz inscription would agree very well with what is known of the character of Hishām, who was a great builder, interested in the improvement of the land, besides being a man of fashion, for Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi [29] said that nobody was fonder of dress than was Hishām. On a pilgrimage it took six hundred camels to carry his robes.

Kendrick, "The Earliest Dated Islamic Textiles," *Burlington Mag.*, LX (1932), 185–91, Figs. B, C.

[25] Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā* (Cairo, 1331–18 H. [1913–19 A.D.]), IV, 7.

[26] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *Al-'Iḳd al-Farīd* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), I, 103; II, 336.

[27] *Op. cit.*, V, 400.

[28] Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, V, 466. Cf. Chapter II of this investigation. See also J. von Karabacek, *Die persische Nadelmalerei Susandschird* (Leipzig, 1881), which also derives the sense of "writing" from raḳm here.

[29] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *op. cit.*, II, 338.

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Of Walīd II, the *Aghānī* [30] says: "Walīd used to be brought clean white garments, consisting of caliphal garments (thiyāb al-khilāfa) and pray a good prayer in them." The term used is applied in later times to those garments with the ṭirāz border which were part of the insignia of the caliphate.[31]

On the fall of the Umayyad dynasty, the Abbasids took over most of their existing institutions, such as the dār al-ṣabbāghīn—perhaps some such factory, in Ramla, which had been founded by the Caliph Sulaimān.[32]

[30] *Aghānī,* VII, 83.

[31] Ḳalḳashandī, *op. cit.,* III, 274: "One of the insignia of the caliphate consists of thiyāb al-khilāfa."

[32] See Chapter XIV of this investigation.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

Another Sasanian textile, a carpet which the Arabs took as spoil, is described in Ṭabarī (*Annales,* ed. M. J. de Goeje [Leyden, 1879–1901], Ser. I, V, 2453 [year 16]). Maḳrīzī gave the following particulars of Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik: "Ce Khalife se fit faire des vêtements brodés à sa taille; il en fit tellement faire, qu'il fallut sept cents chameaux pour transporter ceux qu'il choisit. Cette charge était composée des habits dont il se revêtit, mais combien y en avait-il qu'il ne portait pas!" ("Histoire d'Égypte de Makrizi," trans. by E. Blochet, *Revue de l'Orient Latin,* VIII [1900–1901], 175).

Djahshiyārī stated: "One of his (Hishām's) scribes was Tadharī b. Asṭīn, the Christian whom he invested with the government of Ḥimṣ. Djunnāda b. Abī Khālid used to be his secretary for the ṭirāz factories and his name is to be found on the Hāshimī fabrics" (*Kitāb al-Wuzarā'* [Cairo, 1938], p. 60. For Hāshimī boots see Appendix I).

Tha'ālibī gave a rather apocryphal account of Abarwīz and his page to whom the monarch said: "What are the softest garments?" He replied "In spring, the Shahidjānī (Mervian), and Dabīḳī kinds, and, as for summer, the Tawwazī and Shaṭawī, and for autumn, the munaiyar (stuff with a double woof or weft, or striped stuff) of Rayy, and the mulḥam (see Chapter II) of Merv, and, for winter, khazz-silk, and furs (ḥawṣal), and, in extreme cold, silk lined with silk (khazz) between which is ḳazz-silk." He said, "Tell me of the best and softest of carpets (fursh)." He replied, "They are mattresses (bardha') of brocade stuffed with feathers, placed one on top of the other" (*Histoire des rois des perses,* p. 710).

This passage is indicative of the fashion about 412 H. (1021 A.D.) for, according to Christensen, this is not to be found in the Pahlavi version.

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CHAPTER II

Part 1

THE ṬIRĀZ UNDER THE ABBASIDS

BAGHDAD, OF COURSE, WAS THE GREAT CENTER OF ISLAMIC MANUFACTURES, QUICKLY RISING to prominence after its foundation by al-Manṣūr in 145 H. (762 A.D.). Though the capital was famous for its textiles, the royal factories there seem scarcely to have been noticed by Arab authors, despite the fact that they must have been extensive. The court required the products not only of the Baghdad factory, but also those of the factories of Fars and Khuzistan as well as of many other places in Persia, to say nothing of the Egyptian group. The *Aghānī* constantly alludes to gifts of robes of honor (khil'a) from the caliph to his favorites, yet the site of a ṭirāz is known only from so late an author as Ibn al-Djawzī.

The earliest ṭirāz factories were probably in the Round City built by al-Manṣūr, which continued to be the seat of government down to the reign of Rashid (170–93 H. [786–809 A.D.]). Ibn al-Balkhī [1] stated that "Abū 'l-'Abbās left four shirts (ḳamīṣ), and five pairs of trousers (sarāwīlāt), four ṭailasāns (mantle, scarf, or hood), and three silk miṭraf-robes[2] (maṭārif khazz)," but Manṣūr left great wealth. The following extract from Ibn Khaldūn is suggestive of a factory, or at least, a store in the palace:

> Now this son of his, al-Mahdī, the father of Rashid, came to him when he was in his majlis one day, consulting his tailors (khaiyāṭ) about the mending of the torn garments of his household, for he used to avoid providing his family with new clothes at the expense of the treasury. Al-Mahdī disliked this and said: "Oh Commander of the Faithful, I shall bear the expense of the clothing of this household for the year, from my own pension." Manṣūr replied: "Very well," nor did he stop him from doing so, for he did not permit that any of the property of the Muslims should be used to defray the expenses thereon.[3]

By the time of Harun al-Rashid, the system was well organized as may be concluded from the following passage extracted from the *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'* of al-Djahshiyārī (ob. 331 H. [942 A.D.[4]]): "Rashid used to call Dja'far 'my brother,' and share his robe with him. He invested him with the post (barīd) of the provinces, and the mints (dūr al-ḍarb), and the ṭirāz factories (dūr al-ṭuruz) in all the provinces." The honor of this post may have been all the greater because of the lucrative perquisites attached to it. According to the *Ma'ālim al-Ḳurba*[5] it was Rashid who invented the measure for cloth known as the dhirā' al-Sawād,[6]

[1] Al-Balkhī, *Livre de la création et de l'histoire,* ed. and trans. by C. Huart (Paris, 1899), VI, 89. See also *Aghānī* (Bulaq, 1285 H. [1868 A.D.]), IX, 121. Manṣūr introduced long ḳalansuwa caps, and the wearing of black silk. Cf. Ṭabarī, *Annales,* ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1879–1901), Ser. III, I, 417–18.

[2] Miṭraf, a mantle. See R. Levy, "Notes on Costume from Arabic Sources," *Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc.,* 1935, pp. 322–23.

[3] [Ibn Khaldūn], *A Selection from the Prologomena of Ibn Khaldūn,* ed. D. B. Macdonald, *Semitic Study Ser.,* No. IV (Leyden, 1905), 17ff.

[4] Photostat of this work, ed. H. von Mzik, p. 249.

[5] Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Ma'ālim al-Ḳurba,* ed. R. Levy, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1938), n.s., XII, Nos. 115–16.

[6] The Sawād here probably means Iraq in general.

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which was the length of the forearm of a negro slave. Mas'ūdī,[7] however, in the *Murūdj al-Dhahab* called it the "black yard" (dhirā' aswad) and said: "Thus is named the dhirā' established by al-Ma'mūn for the measuring of cloths, houses, and timber. It is composed of twenty-four fingers (iṣba')." However, this suits the character of Rashid better than that of Ma'mūn, for, according to Balādhurī,[8] Harun established industries in the frontier and coastal cities.

Already in Harun's time, too, inscriptions other than those of a purely official nature were being embroidered on garments, for Ibn Khalliḳān said:

> Abu 'l-'Atāhiya, having obtained the permission to offer a present to the caliph on the festival of Nairūz (New Year) and Mihradjān, brought him on one of those anniversaries, an ample vase (barnīya) containing a perfumed garment (thawb) of delicate texture, on the borders (ḥawāshī) of which he had inscribed the verses just given. On this, the caliph had some intention of bestowing 'Utba upon him, but she recoiled with dislike, and exclaimed: "Commander of the Faithful, treat me as becomes a female and a member of your household. Would you give me up to an ugly man who sells jars, and gains his livelihood by verses?" [9]

Another work supplies information about the position of the ṭirāz during the reigns of his sons Amīn and Ma'mūn, between whom and another brother, al-Ḳāsim, Harun divided the empire. He had a contract drawn up between the two brothers and himself to settle the division of power among them, and Amīn acknowledged Ma'mūn as "governor of the frontiers of Khurasan, its towns and districts, with control of the taxes (ṣadaḳāt), the tithing, and the tithes, the Post (barīd), and the ṭirāz factories" (ṭuruz).[10] Ma'mūn's power extended over

[7] Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab, Les Prairies d'or* (Paris, 1861–77), I, 183.

[8] Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. M. de Goeje (Leyden, 1866), p. 163; *ibid.*, trans. by P. Hitti (New York, 1916), I, 252. For an allusion to the ṭirāz in the reign of al-Hādī see C. van Arendonk, *De Opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen* (Leyden, 1919), p. 196.

[9] *Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary*, trans. by M. de Slane (Paris-London, 1843–71), I, 203, following Mubarrad's *Kāmil*. Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Djamāhir*, ed. F. Krenkow (Hyderabad, 1938), p. 58, illustrates the luxury of the Abbasid court in Harun al-Rashid's reign. He quotes a poet: " 'The world is nothing if women rule it. Should they rule a single day, then farewell (salām) to the world.' If you desire a proof of his veracity, then cite such women as Zubaida (the wife of Harun), praiseworthy for most of her good qualities, and her rosary of pomegranate jacinths (Rummānī yāḳūt) like nuts, strung together like the slices of a melon. If any one of them were to be found today, they would easily be recognized to have belonged to her. Think of the pearls pierced with cross-shaped holes (taṣlīb) so that she might have garments made with them for her maids."

Since the above page was written, I have found another passage in Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a, *'Uyūn al-Anbā' fī Ṭabaḳāt al-Aṭibbā'*, ed. A. Müller (Cairo, 1299 H. [1882 A.D.], Preface, Königsberg, 1884), I, 136, which says that every year in Muharram, the physician Bakhtīshū' ibn Djibrā'īl used to receive, in addition to other gifts at different times of the year: Royal ṭirāzī gold-spangled linen cloth (al-ḳaṣab al-khāṣṣ al-ṭirāzī), 20 pieces (shiḳḳa); ṭirāz cloth with a warp of silk, and a woof of some other material (al-mulḥam al-ṭirāzī), 20 pieces (shiḳḳa); silk of Manṣūr (the caliph) (al-khazz al-Manṣūrī), 10 pieces; stretched silk (? al-khazz al-mabsūṭ—or carpet silk ?) 10 pieces; Yemen figured silk (al-washī al-Yamānī), 3 robes (thawb); figured naṣībī stuff (al-washī al-naṣībī), 3 robes (thawb); ṭailasāns (head scarves), 3 ṭailasāns; he also received sable (sammūr), marten (fanak), ḳ mak m (ermine), stoat (dalaḳ), and squirrel (sindjāb) furs.

This physician served Harun al-Rashid for twenty-three years, and the author amused himself by calculating the immense amount of clothing he received.

[10] *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1857–61), pp. 166 and 162 (Azraḳī); Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-Ẓāhira*, ed. T. W. J. Juynboll and B. F. Mattes (Leyden, 1855–61), I, 544.

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Persia and the East, which indicates that there were factories there in Rashid's time at least.

Again, Taghrībirdī[11] said: "In the year 194 H. (809–10 A.D.), in the first Rabī', Amīn proclaimed his son Mūsā heir-apparent . . . . he nominated as his vizier Ali ibn 'Īsā ibn Māhān. Al-Ma'mūn, when he heard of the deposition of al-Ḳāsim from the regency of the frontiers, had postal communication with Amīn broken off, and ceased to inscribe his name on the ṭirāz, and the coinage." The same information is in al-Balkhī's *Kitāb al-Bad' wa'l-Ta'rīkh,*[12] which says that Ma'mūn cast out the name of Amīn from the "ṭirāz, the dirhams, and the dinars." Of Ma'mūn, too, the *Ta'rīkh-i Baihaḳī*[13] reports: "Ma'mūn made him (Riḍā, the Alī-ide) heir apparent, and abandoned the black banners ('alam), using green instead. They inscribed the name of Ridā' on the dinars, dirhams, and the ṭirāz of robes (djāma)."

According to the *Čahār Maḳāla,*[14] Ma'mūn, when preparing to visit Būrān on their wedding day would not wear a robe (ḳabā') of Ma'danī[15] satin (aṭlas), nor royal satin (malikī), nor ṭamīm (a kind of precious brocade stuff[16]), nor nasīdj (woven stuff), nor mumazzadj (a garment mingled with gold and inscribed with a name[17]), nor miḳrāḍī (cut, slashed, or shorn?) stuff,[18] nor satin (aksūn), but decided to wear a robe of plain black.

Of the Caliph al-Mutawakkil (232–47 H. [847–61 A.D.]), Mas'ūdī stated:

'He wore garments called thiyāb mulḥama (a stuff with a warp of silk, but a woof of some other material[19]), which he preferred to all other stuffs, and this fashion was followed by all the members of his household and then spread among the people. Everyone wished to imitate the sovereign, so the stuffs of that weave reached high prices, and the manufacture was perfected so as to respond to the fashion and to satisfy the taste of the prince and his subjects. In our own time (*ca.* 332 H. [943 A.D.]) some of these stuffs are found; they are known under the name of Mutawakkilī. It is a kind of cloth of a very beautiful weave (thiyāb al-mulḥama), and of an excellent color (ṣibgh).[20]

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 551–52.

[12] Al-Balkhī, *op. cit.*, text, VI, 108.

[13] *Ta'rīkh-i-Baihaḳī* (Calcutta, 1862), p. 161 (ref. from Karabacek).

[14] Niẓāmī 'Arūḍī, *Čahār Maḳāla,* ed. Mirzā Muhammad Ḳazwīnī, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1910), XI, 110; *ibid.*, trans. by E. G. Browne (London, 1921), pp. 20 and notes.

[15] Maḳrīzī, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l'Égypte,* trans. by M. Quatremère (Paris, 1837–45), II, 33. He derives it from a place in Armenia, Ma'dan. Another suggestion is that 'Adanī (from Aden) should be read. The name ma'danī, however, occurs too frequently to be rejected.

[16] A. von Kremer, *Beiträge zur arabischen Lexikographie, Sitz. Ber. Phil.-Hist. Kl., Akad. Wien,* CV (1884), 438: "Eine Art kostbaren Kleiderstoffes, Goldbrokat." Cf. Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, I, 410, l. 12.

[17] R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (2d ed; Paris, 1927), II, 587. N. de Khanikof, "Mémoire sur Khâcâni," *Journ. asiatique,* sixième sér., V (1865), 348, where an alternative from mamzūdj is given (twelfth cent.). Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon,* ed. C. J. Tornberg (Leyden, 1851–76), XII, 154, mentioned: "Twelve thousand garments (thawb) of mumazzadj, interwoven with gold." See *infra.* Mustarshid billāh.

[18] The notes of the *Čahār Maḳāla* (p. 110) quote Māfarrūkhī (Brit. Mus. Or. 3601, fol. 38b): "He said in his final injunctions: 'Make my shroud (akfān) of Rūmī miḳrāḍī cloth, and a gold turban of ḳaṣab and a garment (thawb) of Egyptian Dabīḳī.' He was told that only white cotton garments were good for shrouds, but he said: 'God forbid! I have mixed with his creatures for sixty years and I have always associated with them in brocade (dībādj), silk (ḥarīr), and ḳaṣab.' "

[19] Dozy, *op. cit.*, II, 522, and *idem, Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes* (Amsterdam, 1845), p. 60.

[20] Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, VII, 190.

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Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, too, used the term Mutawakkilī to describe a very fine kind of garment:

. . . . [a] towel of light Mutawakkilī Dabīḳī, embroidered with a ṭirāz border, with a velvet-like pile (mukhmal), made in Egypt, with two badges (?'alam), and two bands (zunnār) and their patterns of fine thread, of perfect length, exquisite width, with a short pile, bordered with a fringed (?) border (ḥāshiya mashḳūḳa), softer than ḳazz-silk and finer than floss-silk (khazz).[21]

Presumably, the mulḥam stuffs were made in the palace factories of Baghdad or Samarra, if there were any there, and that is extremely likely, for al-Mu'taṣim, when he built the city, brought craftsmen there from all quarters. Even in Ma'mūn's day these stuffs of mixed materials were well known, for a courtier said:

Poetry is a carpet (bisāṭ) of wool (ṣūf) and when goat hair (sha'r) is mixed with pure wool, its beauty is evident through the combination, and its luster through the composition.[22]

After al-Mutawakkil (ob. 247 H. [861 A.D.]), there followed a period of anarchy in which four caliphs succeeded one another in quick succession. In 256 H. (870 A.D.) in Mu'tamid's reign there are again notices on ṭirāz. He was dominated by his more vigorous brother, al-Muwaffaḳ, who fell out with the semi-independent governor of Egypt, Ibn Ṭūlūn. When Muwaffaḳ foiled a plot of Ahmed ibn Ṭūlūn to free the caliph from his overzealous control, the Egyptian, by way of venting his spite on Muwaffaḳ, revenged himself, according to Ibn al-Athīr, in the following way:

In the year 269 H. (882–83 A.D.), al-Mu'tamid (the puppet caliph) cursed Aḥmed ibn Ṭūlūn at the Public Audience (dār al-'āmma) and ordered this curse to be pronounced on the pulpits . . . . for Ibn Ṭūlūn had stopped the name of al-Muwaffaḳ from being mentioned in the prayer (khuṭba), and dropped the inscription of his name from the ṭirāz.[23]

The same item of information is to be found in a curtailed form in Abu 'l-Fidā'.[24] Ibn al-Athīr said further:

[In Muharram of 279 H. (892 A.D.), Mu'tamid] made al-Mu'taḍid bi'llāh Abu 'l-'Abbās Ahmed ibn al-Muwaffaḳ heir-apparent, and they (the nobles) bore witness that he (Mu'tamid's son) was deprived of the succession. He dropped his name from the coinage, prayer, and the ṭirāz-inscriptions.[25]

The importance of the ṭirāz as one of the insignia of power is clearly shown by the above passages.[26]

A further passage, referring to the energetic al-Muwaffaḳ, which shows the extent of the ṭirāz organization, is to be found in Ibn Ṭiḳṭaḳā's *al-Fakhrī,* which gives the following account of the vizier al-Hasan ibn Makhlad with Muwaffaḳ. The vizier said:

[21] Abu'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, *Ḥikāyat Abi'l-Ḳāsim,* ed. A. Mez (Heidelberg, 1902), p. 42. See also Chapter XVI. For the exports of Dabīḳī to Iraq in 517 H. see Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* (Bulaq, 1853), I, 472.

[22] Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.,* VII, 7.

[23] Ibn al-Athīr, *Ta'rīkh* (Bulaq, 1290 H.), VII, 143 (ref. from Hasan Hawary).

[24] Abu'l-Fidā', *Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar* (Istanbul, 1286), II, 56 (ref. from Hasan Hawary).

[25] Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.,* VII, 161–62.

[26] The *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe,* ed. E. Combe, J. Sauvaget, and G. Wiet (Cairo, 1931), II, 212, 232, 248–53 confirms the above.

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Once I was in the presence of Muwaffaḳ, the son of al-Mutawakkil, and I saw him feel a garment over with his hand, then he said to me: "Hasan, this stuff pleases me. How much have we in the stores (khazā'in)?" Thereupon I brought out of my boot a little roll (dastūr) in which was set forth the total of goods and stuffs in the stores, given in detail. Therein I found 6,000 pieces of this kind of stuff. "Hasan," said al-Muwaffaḳ to me, "we have nothing to wear. Write to the country (of origin) to make 30,000 pieces of this kind of fabric, and to send them with the least possible delay.[27]

The action of Ibn Tūlūn, in casting out the name of al-Muwaffaḳ from the ṭirāz inscriptions had important consequences. This was a slight which could not be ignored at Baghdad. The trouble must have come to a head when the time came for the Kaaba covering to be woven, which usually took place in Egypt. Muwaffaḳ could not afford to allow his prestige to suffer by sending a Kaaba covering which did not bear his name, for the ṭirāz was, in its way, a kind of propaganda for the ruling dynasty. Iṣṭakhrī [28] (340 H. [951 A.D.]) reported that in this time the Kaaba covering was made at Shustar. Thus, it seems feasible to suppose that it began to be manufactured in the East some time about the year 270 H. (883 A.D.). This, however, is purest conjecture, for in 290 H. (903 A.D.) Egypt was recovered by the Caliph al-Muḳtafī.

Another work with the title of *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'*, composed by a certain al-Hilāl al-Ṣābi' (359–448 H. [969–1056 A.D.]), gives a very full account of the expenditure on the palace factories, in which the sum spent on ṭirāzī stuffs seems to have been but one item. So far as I have been able to ascertain, there were very few royal factories for materials, apart from arsenals and paper factories, in any other cities. The manufactures enumerated in the list could only be carried on around a wealthy and luxurious court, and so they were probably only to be found in such cities as Baghdad and Cairo.

When the brothers Ibn Furāt, Ahmed, who was the superior until he died in 291 H. (903–4 A.D.), and Ali, who followed him, made out the budget for the imperial expenditure, they allotted the revenue as follows:

The maintenance of the employees whose month is fifty days, consisting of those engaged to work in the public supply magazine (sharāb al-'āmma), and in the clothing magazines (khazā'in al-kiswa), and the craftsmen, comprising goldsmiths (ṣāgha), tailors (khaiyāṭ), fullers (ḳaṣṣār), blacksmiths (asākifa, which may also mean shoemakers, carpenters, or just artisans), ironworkers (ḥaddād), menders (raffā'), furriers (farrā'), makers of ṭirāz (muṭarriz), upholsterers (nadjdjād), papermakers (warrāḳ), perfumers ('aṭṭār), makers of the borders of robes (mushahhir),[29] carpenters (nadjdjār), glass cutters (kharrāṭ), makers of chests (asfāṭī), etc. This is in addition to the keepers (khuzzān), and artificers employed in the arsenal (khizāna al-silāḥ), and the saddlery store (khizāna al-surūdj) in the same. Each store and section has a separate check drawn on the divan, in all, three thousand dinars a month, that is to say, a hundred dinars a day.[30]

[27] Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī, Geschichte der islamischen Reiche . . . .*, ed. W. Ahlwardt (Gotha, 1860), p. 298; *ibid.*, trans. by E. Amar, *Archives marocaines,* XVI (Paris, 1910), 436–37 (ref. from Hasan Hawary).

[28] See Chapter IV of this investigation. The disparity in dates is not so great as it might seem, for Iṣṭakhrī probably based these statements on earlier sources.

[29] Dozy, *Supplément . . . .*, I, 796.

[30] Al-Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'*, ed. H. F. Amedroz (Leyden, 1904), p. 17. See also A. von Kremer, "Das Einnahmebudget des Abbasidenreiches vom Jahre 306 H. (918–19 A.D.)," *Denkschriften d. phil. hist. Klasse d. Kais. Akad d. Wiss. in Wien,* Bd. XXXVI (1887).

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It will be noted that these expenses are concerned solely with the upkeep of the Baghdad factories. As will be seen below, in the provinces the ṭirāz was controlled by being farmed out to private individuals; this naturally led to great abuses, for the weavers seem to have had a kind of corvée imposed upon them. The sum spent on maintenance (arzāḳ) is very large, amounting to 36,000 dinars per annum. This should be compared with the 10 per cent tax which Abu 'l-Fatḥ Rāzī attempted unsuccessfully to impose upon silk and cotton cloth in Baghdad, estimated to bring in 1,000,000 dirhams—say 100,000 dinars, making the value of annual income 1,000,000 dinars. If wages are considered, this sum seems even more magnificent, for Tanūkhī[31] remarked that a glass cutter who learned grammar from al-Mubarrad (ob. 285 H. [998 A.D.]), a contemporary of the Ibn Furāt brothers, earned a dirham and a third to a dirham and a half a day at his trade. If the workmen of the ṭirāz were slaves, or harem girls, only supplied with provisions in kind, as the term might well imply, the number of people employed there must have been even greater than that calculated on the basis of the glass cutters' wages.

Again, al-Hilāl said:

The cost of the allowances (waẓā'if) for the private supply magazine (sharāb al-khāṣṣa), and the public supply magazine (sharāb al-'āmma), with the furnishings pertaining thereto, and the expenses of the stores (khazā'in) of clothing (kiswa), the robes of honor (khil'a), perfumes (ṭīb), the requirements for the ablution and the bath, the expenditure on the arsenals (khazā'in al-silāḥ), and those breastplates (djawāshin) and mail-coats (durū') which are worn out, and the arrows (nushshāb), standards ('alam), and spears (miṭrad) made there, and the expenditure on the saddlery stores with the renewals and repairs to them (i.e., the saddles), the expenditure on the carpet stores (khazā'in al-fursh),[32] the cost of the coarse cloth (khaish)of flax, brocades (dubudj), the wages of porters and servants of the throne, etc., as is fully specified in the office of expenditure, (those who spend it and are maintained by it, being in charge of the expenditure of it), is in all three thousand dinars a month, that is to say, a hundred dinars per day.[33]

Ḳalḳashandī also described the organization of the royal wardrobe in Baghdad. After referring to the great library of more than one hundred thousand books which belonged to the caliphs, among the other palace offices he mentioned:

The khizāna al-kiswa which is really made up of two wardrobes (or stores, khazā'in), one of which is called al-khizāna al-ẓāhira, which we express in our time, as al-khizāna al-kubrā, as it was in ancient times, and that expressed by khizāna al-khāṣṣ which has remained into modern times. There were in it stores of colored brocades (dībādj mulawwan) of various kinds, and royal dabīḳī sharb-cloth (al-sharb al-khāṣṣ al-Dabīḳī), scarlet (siḳlāṭūn) and other kinds of splendid stuffs (ḳumāsh)

[31] Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara, Table Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge,* ed. and trans. by D. S. Margoliouth, Oriental Trans. Fund (London, 1921), text, p. 134, trans., p. 147. See also E. von Zambaur, "Dīnār," *Encycl. Islām* (Leyden-London, 1913–38), I, 975–76; *idem,* "Dirham," *Encycl. Islām,* I, 978–79.

[32] For Fursh al-Khilāfa see Ṭabarī, *op. cit.,* II, 967; Tanūkhī (*op. cit.,* text, p. 149) noticed in the audience chamber of Muṭī' a large yellow caliphal carpet (ṭinfisa khalīfīya) of "khazz wa-raḳm" (striped silk ?). Perhaps "khazz raḳm" should be read.

[33] Al-Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *op. cit.,* p. 16.

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which display the glory of empire. To it were brought the royal requisitions (musta'malāt al-khāṣṣ) which are made in the dār al-ṭirāz in Tinnīs and Damietta and Alexandria. In it were cut out the caliphal robes (libās al-khilāfa) which were ordered, and the robes of honor (khil'a), and those given as presents (tashrīf), etc. The second was a place for the preparation of the caliphal robes only and is expressed in our time by ṭashtkhāna. To it was brought the caliphal cloth cut out in the first wardrobe.[34]

In the year 305 H. (917 A.D.), al-Muḳtadir received the Byzantine ambassador in his palace. As he wished to make a great impression on this envoy, a splendid display was arranged there. An Arab author has left a list of the kinds of cloth used there with names indicating the various countries of origin. Though drawn from a variety of sources, they seem mainly to have come from ṭirāz cities:

The number of gold curtains of brocade (dībādj) with magnificent gold embroideries (ṭirāz), with figures of cups (djāmāt), elephants, horses, camels, wild beasts, and birds, and large Baṣinnā, Armenian, Wāsiṭ, and Bahnasā curtains, plain (sādhidj), or with drawings (? or colored, manḳūsh), and Dabīḳī with the ṭirāz which were suspended in the castles of the Commander of the Faithful al-Muḳtadir bi'llāh, consisted of 38,000 curtains, of which the aforementioned gold curtains of brocade made up the number of 12,000. The number of carpets (busuṭ), and strips (ankhākh) of Djahram and Dārābdjird and Dawraḳ in the passages and in the courts, on which the generals and envoys of the emperor of Rūm trod, from the New Public Gate to the presence of al-Muḳtadir bi'llāh, not counting the Ṭabarī and Dabīḳī carpets (anmāṭ) which were under them, in the private rooms and in the assembly rooms, for display, and not to be trodden upon, came to 22,000 pieces.[35]

These stuffs with the designs of elephants were not uncommon for Suyūṭī[36] in 575 H. (1180 A.D.) mentions a coverlet or mantle (duwādj) with the pictures (ṣūra) of elephants upon it. Reath and Sachs[37] show an example of such a design from Khurasan, which also bears a ṭirāz inscription.

The custom of distributing clothing as an annual present to servants in lieu of, or as part of, wages (a system which persisted in Persia until at least before the war of 1914–18), was not confined to the caliphs, but seems to have been general among the great nobles. Al-Ṣāḥib Ismā'īl ibn 'Abbād (ob. 387 H. [997 A.D.]), in one winter, gave to his servants 820 turbans ('amā'im) of khazz-silk: "He liked silk and used to order that there be much of it in his house."[38] His servants wore splendid colored silks. This official, who was vizier to Mu'aiyad al-Dawla, had a storehouse for robes of honor (khizāna al-khila').

An account of the ṭirāz of the Buwaihids is given in 'Utbī[39] in his history of the Ghazne-

[34] Ḳalḳashandī *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), III, 476. Page 477 refers to a khizāna al-fursh, called in his day firāsh-khāna.

[35] G. Salmon, *L'Introduction topographique à l'histoire de Bagdâdh d'Aboû Bakr Aḥmad ibn Thâbit al-Khaṭîb al-Bagdâdhī* (Paris, 1904), text, p. 52, trans., p. 135.

[36] Suyūṭī, *Ta'rīkh al-Khulafā'* (Calcutta, 1881), p. 473.

[37] N. A. Reath and E. B. Sachs, *Persian Textiles and Their Technique* .... (New Haven, 1937), Pl. 50. These are probably ṭardwaḥsh and were also made in Fatimid Egypt. See *infra*, Chapter XVI.

[38] R. A. Nicholson, *Second Reading Book* (Cambridge, 1909), p. 111.

[39] 'Utbī, *Kitāb al-Yamīnī* (Cairo, 1286 H.), pp. 91–93.

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vids, entitled *Kitāb al-Yamīnī*. It seems that this Shi'a dynasty had taken over the ṭirāz system, which rightly belonged to the Abbasid caliph, and turned it to their own use. During the internecine quarrels of the Buwaihids, 'Aḍud al-Dawla received at his court one of the officers of the Samanid court, Ahmed Khwārizmī, who had come with demands from his master:

I set before him a memorandum which he ('Utbī, the Samanid vizier, ob. 371 H. [981–82 A.D.]) had given me, with particulars of what I was to bring from Iraq province. Among these were one thousand manufactured garments (thawb), embroidered (muṭarraz) with the ṭirāz, containing the name of the Emir al-Saiyid al-Malik al-Mu'aiyad al-Manṣūr Walī al-Ni'am Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, Nūḥ ibn Manṣūr, the client of the Commander of the Faithful, and five hundred garments embroidered with the name of al-Shaikh al-Saiyid Abu 'l-Ḥusain 'Ubaid Allāh ibn Ahmed, and a like quantity marked (mu'lama) with the name of the noble chamberlain, Abu 'l-'Abbās Tāsh.

This assumption of overlordship annoyed the proud Buwaihid very much, but finally he acceded to his request, and replied to the envoy:

We have ordered the execution of the contents of the memorandum which the sheikh has requested, so as not to put him to any inconvenience, and so as not to alter his attitude of benevolence. The manufacture will take place so that the finishing touches of the artisans, and the execution of your requirements are in time for your return from your destination.

Ahmed Khwārizmī said:

So I asked all those to be made with the aforementioned inscriptions (ṭirāz), and took them with me to Bukhara, crowned with success, along with the other things which were prescribed.

This event took place some time between 365 H. (976 A.D.), when Nūḥ ibn Manṣūr came to the throne, and 371 H. (981–82 A.D.), when 'Utbī died.

Yet more details of the stuffs used at the court of 'Aḍud al-Dawla are given by Miskawaihī:

The Persian New Year approached, and 'Aḍud al-Dawla wanted to have a gown (ḳabā') of scarlet (siḳlāṭūn) cut out for himself to wear. He bade me (said Abū Naṣr) fetch from the store (khizāna), a fabric suitable for a gown. I went there, selected a fine material of the usual sort and brought it to him. When I set it before him he looked at it, then took it up and flung it at me, saying: "That is not the sort I wanted." I supposed that he did not think it good enough, and wanted something superior. So I went back and produced from another locker (bāba) something richer, and brought it to him. When his eyes fell on it he exclaimed, "Blindhearted man, not this." I remained bewildered, not knowing what to do. I returned to the store, where Abū Naṣr Bundār asked me why I looked so perplexed, and why I had taken two fabrics and brought them back. When I explained the situation to him, he laughed, and said, "If you had only told me I should have saved you this perplexity." He rose and opened a case (safaṭ) containing siḳlāṭūn fabrics of ordinary quality, worth five dinars apiece.[40]

[40] Miskawaihī, *The Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*, ed. and trans. by H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth (Oxford, 1920–21), VI, 67. The following passage of 'Umarī is relevant in the context (*Masālik al-*

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'Aḍud al-Dawla accepted this and had it made into a gown and wore it at Nawrūz.

'Aḍud al-Dawla had an overmantle (fardjīya) lined with ermine (ḳ māḳ m). One of his men importuned him to present him with this robe, so that eventually he tore it apart, and gave him the siḳlāṭūn, saying to the stirrup holders:

You know that we have in our possession enough robes of siḳlāṭūn to bestow on the whole army if we chose to do so. But these linings (baṭā'in) of fur are rare, and only a few pieces are brought to us in the year from distant countries outside our dominions.[41]

Under the events of the year 512 H. (1118–19 A.D.), al-Athīr reported:

In this year al-Mustarshid bi'llāh cast out of the royal assignments of fiefs (al-iḳtā' al-mukhtaṣṣ) every injustice, and ordered that only what former custom decreed should be taken, and he abolished the farming (ḍamān) of the weaving of gold (ghazl al-dhahab). The manufacturers of scarlet (siḳlāṭūn) and mumazzadj, and others who manufactured it used to suffer great distress at the hands of the governors over them, and much hardship.[42]

Ḳalḳashandī[43] described the customs of the later caliphs in regard to the robes of honor, and of the appointment of governors and of their investiture:

If the person whom the caliph appointed was one of the kings of the districts far away from the court of the caliph, for example such as the kings of Egypt at that time, and others, the robe of honor (tashrīf) was despatched with a messenger to him from the caliph. It was an upper gown (djubba) of black satin (aṭlas) with a golden ṭirāz border, and a necklace (ṭawḳ) of gold to be placed on his neck, and two bracelets (siwār) of gold, to be placed on his hands . . . and a sword, the scabbard of which was covered with gold, and a horse with a saddle (markab) of gold, and a black standard ('alam) with the name of the caliph written in white, to be unfurled over his head. It was one such as this that was sent to the Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Aiyūb (ca. 550 H. [1200 A.D.]), and then his brother, al-'Ādil.

When it reached the sultan of that region, he donned the robe of honor, and the turban ('imāma), girt the sword about him, mounted the horse, and proceeded at the head of his retinue until he came to his palace. According as the circumstances of the occasion required, other robes for the sultan's children, or his vizier, or one of his relatives, were sometimes despatched with the robes of honor.

The same author stated that al-Nāṣir ibn al-Azīz ibn al-Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was given a robe of honor (khil'a) by Musta'ṣim in 655 H. (1257 A.D.); he was the last of the Ayyubids to receive this honor.[44]

Abṣār, [partially] trans. by E. M. Quatremère, *Notes et extr. de la Bibl. Nat.,* XIII [1838], 247): "Leur (les Sāmānides) puissance était tellement affermie, que les rois des différentes contrées reconnaissaient leur suprématie. Les princes de la famille de Būya (les Buwaihids) malgré l'étendue de leur empire, se regardaient comme les vasseaux des Sāmānides, leur payaient des tributs, et leur envoyaient des étoffes sur lesquelles étaient brodés les noms de ces souverains ainsi que ceux des principaux fonctionnaires de leur état, tels que le wazīr, le chambellan (ḥādjib)."

[41] Miskawaihī, *op. cit.,* text, III, 73, trans., VI, 74–75. For ḳ māḳ m see Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a, *op. cit.,* I, 136. It seems to be merely a variant of ḳāḳum, "ermine."

[42] Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.,* X, 384.

[43] Ḳalḳashandī, *op. cit.,* III, 276.

[44] *Ibid.,* III, 276.

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It has been suggested, earlier in this chapter, that the first ṭirāz factory of Baghdad was in the Round City of Manṣūr as long as the caliphs continued to live there. Now there are two places in Baghdad, the first called dār al-ḳazz, and the second dār al-ḳuṭn—the "House of Silk" and the "House of Cotton"—about which little is known, but either or both of these places may have had some connection with the royal factories (Map 1). All Yāḳūt said is:

> Between it (the dār al-ḳazz) and the country, nowadays, there is about a parasang. All around it has been destroyed, and there remain only four contiguous places—dār al-ḳazz, the 'Attābī Quarter, al-Naṣrīya, and al-Shihārsūk. The rest is composed of large mounds. Paper is made there nowadays.[45]

A writer known as Dār al-Ḳuṭnī[46] was born in 306 H. (918 A.D.).

Definite information as to the site of the ṭirāz factory of the Buwaihid and Seljuk periods is given in the *Manāḳib Baghdād* of Ibn al-Djawzī (510–97 H. [1116–1200 A.D.]). The earliest known ṭirāzī stuffs from Baghdad date from the fourth century, and perhaps one may look for the foundation of this institution then:

> As for its (the Bāb al-Ṭāḳ) streets, one street of those next (or near) to the Tigris, is a ṭirāz street, stretching from al-Djisr (the bridge, i.e., the middle bridge of the Tigris), to the beginning of al-Zāhir, which is a garden of about two hundred djarībs (about twenty acres[47]) belonging to the king. On the other side of it are the mosques of the lords of the castles and the dwellings of their servants, and, in between that, their stables (iṣṭablāt). Then next to it, on the right, at the bridge, is the Sūḳ of Yaḥyā which connects the houses of viziers and emirs, like Dār Shādī, and al-Rabīb, and Ibn al-Awḥad, and Ḳaṣr al-Wāfī (for whose riding animals each day's fodder was a thousand nose-bags), that are next to the bank (al-Shaṭṭ). At the end of this market is Dār Faradj, dwellings of the pious and leaders. On the west side, I mean of the Sūḳ of Yaḥyā, are the large shops (al-dakākin al-'āliya), and the populous streets of the floursellers, bakers, and sellers of sweetmeats. Then at the very end of the houses on the bank (Dūr Shāti'īya) is the palace of Mu'izz al-Dawla with a dam (masanna) of the thickness of a hundred bricks. The palace has the "wonderful window" (al-rawshan al-badī—a glass dome ?), and this is the ṭirāz of the Bāb al-Ṭāḳ al-Shāṭi'. As for its entrances, the beginning of them is the square (al-'Arṣa) which is Raḥba al-Djisr. The latter is divided into two large streets, one of them belonging to the artisans (asākifa). Then comes Sūḳ al-Ṭair.[48]

I have been unable to define the site of this factory with complete certainty, as the topography of this part of the city is itself as yet somewhat vague. According to 'Arīb,[49] al-Rāsibī in 301 H. (913 A.D.) left more than a hundred garments (thawb) of precious ṭāḳī khazz-silk, and this may be named after the Bāb al-Ṭāḳ in Baghdad.

The Baghdad ṭirāz seems to have survived the Mongol invasion, and destruction of the city, for the following anecdote not only indicates its survival but the foundation of a new

[45] Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān, Geographisches Wörterbuch,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–73), II, 522. See G. Le Strange, *Baghdad During the Abbasid Caliphate* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 137 and 139. These places were, however, more likely to be bazaars.

[46] *Ibid.,* p. 84. C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (Leyden, 1937), Suppl. I, 275.

[47] See Le Strange, *op. cit.,* index: "Jarīb."

[48] G. Wiet, *L'Exposition persane de 1931* (Cairo, 1933), p. 6. Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib Baghdad* (Baghdad, 1342 H. [1923–24 A.D.]), pp. 25–26.

[49] 'Arīb, *Tabari continuatus,* ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1897), pp. 44–45.

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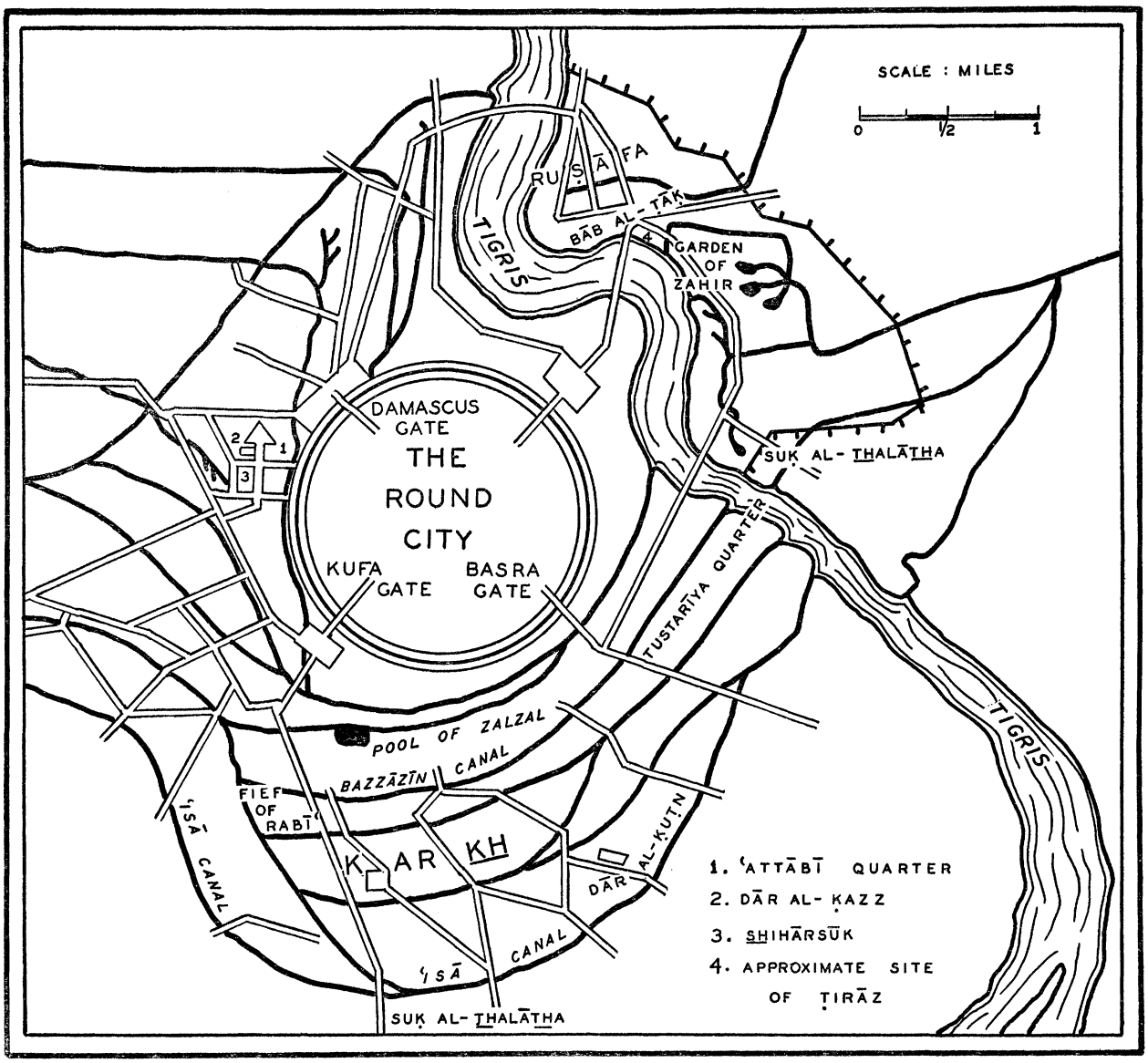
ṭirāz factory at Sulṭānīya, the Mongol capital. During the year 712 H. (1312 A.D.) D'Ohsson[50] reported:

Dès son retour à Sulṭānīya, il (le Sulṭān) éleva au poste de wazir Tāj al-Dīn 'Alīshāh. Ce nouveau ministre des finances avait été marchand de bijoux, d'étoffes et d'autres articles. Son commerce l'avait mis en relation avec l'Amīr Ḥusain Gūrkhān et le prince Uljaitū; ils l'introduisirent auprès du Sulṭān auquel il plût: il était spirituel, adroit, souple, insinuant. Le wazir Sa'd al-Dīn, prenant



MAP 1.—Baghdad.

[50] C. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des mongols* (The Hague and Amsterdam, 1834–35), IV, 545–47 (cited by C. Huart in his *Histoire de Bagdad* [Paris, 1901]).

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ombrage de la faveur dont il jouissait, lui confia pour l'éloigner, la direction des manufactures royales à Bagdad. 'Alīshāh offrit au Sulṭān lorsqu'il vint dans cette residence, des étoffes magnifiques et de grandes barques ornées somptueusement." . . . [he still further rose in his favor through a singing girl who attracted the attention of the Sultan . . .] "Un jour 'Alīshāh donnant une fête somptueuse au Sulṭān, dans l'hôtel de la manufacture royale de Sulṭānīya, après avoir offert des présents au souverein, à ses courtisans, et aux généraux, posa d'abord trois pièces de riches étoffes devant Rashīd al-Dīn et ensuite un égal nombre devant Sa'd al-Dīn." [The last named showed so much anger at being placed second that he annoyed the sultan.] [51]

Part 2

THE MANUFACTURES OF BAGHDAD

As in the case of the ṭirāz factory, information is also lacking about the textile manufactures of the metropolis of Islam. Because of its central position, Baghdad was exposed to every kind of cultural influence in the Islamic world. Ya'ḳūbī, about 278 H. (891 A.D.), described the cosmopolitan aspect of the city:

There is not a people from any country but has a quarter (maḥalla) in it, a place for the exchange of their produce, and a special district of their own. That which is not to be found in any other town of the world is brought together there. On each side of it flow the two greatest rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates. By both land and sea, merchandise and provisions come to it by the easiest of routes, so that all merchandise brought from the East and West of the countries of Islam, besides that of other countries, is represented here. So much commerce goes to it from Hind, Sind, China, Tibet, the Turks, Dailam, the Khazars, the Abyssinians, and other countries, that more articles of merchandise are to be found there than in the countries of origin themselves. Withal it is easy of access and approach, so that it seems as if all the goods of the earth were driven towards it, that all the treasures of the world were collected together in it, and that worldly blessings attained perfection there . . . .

You ascend from the Bāb al-Karkh, turning to the right of the fief of Rabī', the client of the Commander of the Faithful, which contains merchants, the merchants of Khurasan, consisting of sellers of cloth (bazzāz), and the various kinds of garments brought from Khurasan, sold by themselves, not along with anything else.[52]

[51] *Ibid.* Additional Notes: Ḳalḳashandī gives a very full description of other insignia of the caliphs and of the Mameluke sultans, including the raḳaba (*Ṣubḥ,* II, 128), a cloth of yellow silk embroidered with gold, for covering the sultan's horse (see Dozy, *op. cit.*), and standards (*Ṣubḥ,* IV, 8), the ghāshīya (*ibid.,* IV, 7), the miẓalla or čatr, umbrella (*ibid.*), which is also described by Chau Ju-Kua (*Chu-fan-chih, on the Arab and Chinese Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,* trans. by F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill [St. Petersburg, 1911], I, 135) in the twelfth to thirteenth century and by whom the miẓalla is also described as an umbrella with differences in minor details.

More information about the Mameluke ṭirāz is to be found in the *Ṣubḥ,* in the following places: III, 278–81, 498; IV, 6 and 55. Quatremère (in his translation of the *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l'Égypte*) has also some interesting details, and, of course, Maḳrīzī supplies a great deal of information from the *Khiṭaṭ.* These, however, lie outside the early period, which is being discussed here, and, indeed, would involve more research than time permits, for the post-Mongol period is very well documented.

[52] Ya'ḳūbī, *Kitāb al-Boldān, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (=*B.G.A.*) (Leyden, 1892), VII, 234 and 245.

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Similar passages are to be found in other authors, especially Ibn al-Faḳīh,[53] who noted in particular, that "they have white Merv garments, and nobody else can share in the excellence of their manufacture." This passage probably refers to a type of cotton cloth, and not to any distinctive Mervian cloth which had come to Baghdad.

Abū'l-Ḳāsim[54] spoke of 'Attābī Dabīḳī with a gold-embroidered border (mu'lam muthaḳ-ḳal). It is rather hard to say what this material was, but since the Dabīḳī cloth was, of course, the kind made in the Tinnīs-Damietta group, a linen cloth with a ṭirāz border, though there were also silken kinds, this is perhaps one of the types resembling Dabīḳī, but manufactured in the 'Attābī quarter of Baghdad. The *Tuḥfa al-Albāb* of Gharnāṭī gives some indication of the nature of this 'Attābī:

> In the land of the Zandj (Negroes) there are donkeys, each of which is similar to the stuff 'Attābī—a striped cloth (mukhaṭṭaṭ) with black and white in regular stripes (khuṭūṭ). It has a more lovely black and white than ibrīsm-silk in the 'Attābī of Baghdad and Khurasan. There was an ass of this kind at Cairo, but it is dead. Its skin has been kept and stuffed with cotton and it is brought out on festival days. It is one of the marvels of the world.[55]

Apparently, the 'Attābī which he knew (473–565 H. [1080–1169–70 A.D.]) was a silky cloth resembling the coat of a zebra.

Al-Ṣūlī[56] in the events of the year 323 H. (935 A.D.) recounted that "a great fire occurred in Karkh in Shawwāl which burnt the perfumer's quarter, the quarters of the chemists, the makers of glazed ware (or painters, aṣḥāb al-madhūn), the silkmakers (khazzāzūn), and the jewelers (djawharīyūn)."

How far the Baghdad products traveled even in the early centuries of Islam is evident from the list of presents given to a Spanish ruler in 327 H. (939 A.D.). The list contains the items "Baghdad cloths (malāḥif)," silk, and gold,[57] for the adornment of horses.

The *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*[58] notes that "Baghdad produces cotton stuffs, silk textiles, crystals turned on a lathe, and glazed ware (jāma-yi-pamba va abrīshum)." Maḳdisī [59] stated that "in the City of Peace (Baghdad) rare articles of merchandise are to be found as well as all kinds of silken cloth (ḳazz) and other things." Among the products for which Iraq was specially famous he numbers the "muḥkam (glass?) and other rarities of Baghdad. . . . and at Baghdad, izārs (trousers for men, or veils for women which cover the whole body), turbans ('imāma), and the valuable Yakānakī[60] cloth are made." It is worthy of remark that this

[53] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Compendium libri Kitāb al-Boldān,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1885), V, 252.

[54] Abu'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

[55] [Gharnāṭī], G. Ferrand, "Le *Tuḥfat al-Albāb* de Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-Gharnāṭī," *Journ. asiatique,* CCVII (1925), 110 of the text.

[56] Al-Ṣūlī, *Akhbār al-Rāḍī wa'l-Muttaḳī, from the Kitāb al-Awrāḳ,* ed. J. Heyworthe-Dunne (London, 1935), p. 68.

[57] Maḳḳarī, *Analectes sur l'histoire et la littérature des arabes en Espagne,* ed. R. Dozy and others (Leyden, 1855–61), I, 229–31. See Chapter XVII of this work on Spanish textiles.

[58] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* trans. by V. Minorsky, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1937), n.s., XI, 138.

[59] Maḳdisī, *Descriptio imperii Moslemici, B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1876; 2d ed. 1906), III, 128.

[60] Persian Yagānagī, "smooth or precious cloth." (?) Gloss. in *B.G.A.*

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Persian cloth is also to be found in Baghdad along with such other types of foreign cloth as Dabīḳī from Egypt.

Miskawaihī stated:

[In 375 H. (985–86 A.D.)] Ṣamṣām al-Dawla proposed to impose a duty of 10 per cent on the price of silken and cotton cloths manufactured in Baghdad .... Abu 'l-Fatḥ Rāzī had represented the amount to be got from this duty as very large, and offered to procure a million dirhams thence every year. There was a meeting held in the mosque of Manṣūr, and they decided to prevent the Friday worship, while there were riots in other cities. They were, in consequence, relieved of the new impost.[61]

The government, however, did succeed in placing this tax on the recalcitrant population, for Miskawaihī, under the annals for the year 349 H. (999 A.D.), reported:

Abū Naṣr Sābūr had endeavored to impose a tithe on all silken and cotton goods (thiyāb ibrīsmīyāt wa-ḳuṭnīyāt) manufactured in Baghdad. This caused a riot on the part of the people of the 'Attābī quarter, and of the Damascus Gate, who proceeded to the public mosque on Friday the tenth, stopped the sermon and prayer, clamored and appealed, and went into the streets in this style. On Tuesday they proceeded to the palace of Abū Naṣr Sābūr in Daizadj Street whence they were kept out by the young 'Alawids. Leaving Daizadj Street, they went to the Tigris .... It was arranged (in consequence of the riot) that the tithe should be taken from the price of the silken goods only (silk being forbidden to men by religious law), and to that effect a proclamation was made on Sunday, the fourth of Djumādā I. (April 23, 999), on the western side, and on the following Monday, on the eastern side. This tax was maintained, officers and an inspector appointed for its collection, and an office set apart for this purpose in a palace on the Pool (probably the Pool of Zalzal;[62] stamps (khutūm) were placed on all goods from the looms (manāsidj), and sold and sealed.

This practice was retained until the last days of 'Amīd al-Djuyūsh, who abolished it and put a stop to the custom.[63]

Another account of the same is given by al-Hilāl al-Ṣābi' in his *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'*, but instead of the phrase "sold and sealed" he has "sold and made red."[64]

In the reign of 'Aḍud al-Dawla, Tha'ālibī counted the scarlet (siḳlāṭūn) of Baghdad as a choice article of clothing[65] and reported that "as regards striped cloaks, 'Attābī stuffs, and scarlets, Baghdad and Isfahan share in them."[66] Both Gharnāṭī,[67] and Nuwairī[68] mentioned the siḳlāṭūn of Baghdad as among the especially fine articles of clothing.

Ibn Djubair[69] (580 H. [1184 A.D.]) added: "One of the names of the quarters (of Baghdad) is 'Attābīya; the 'Attābī garments which are of silk (ḥarīr) and cotton of various colors are made there."

Chau Ju-Kua, the Chinese author of the twelfth to the thirteenth century, numbered

[61] Miskawaihī, *op. cit.*, VI, 119–20. Cf. Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, trans. by Jarrett, p. 429.

[62] See Le Strange, *op. cit.*

[63] Miskawaihī, *op. cit.*, VI, 361.

[64] Al-Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *op. cit.*, p. 368.

[65] Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif*, ed. P. de Jong (Leyden, 1867), p. 132.

[66] Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-Ḳulūb* (Cairo, 1326 H. [1908 A.D.]), p. 429.

[67] Ferrand, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

[68] Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1923–37), I, 356. Nuwairī died in 1332 A.D.

[69] *The Travels of Ibn Jubair*, ed. W. Wright and M. J. de Goeje, Gibb Mem. Ser. (Leyden-London, 1907), V, 226.

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"white cloth (yüe-no)" among the products of Baghdad, and again "opaque glass, coral, native gold (or gold bullion), brocades (or kincobs), sarcenets, cornelian, and pearls."[70] This kind of cloth he also remarked was to be found at Ghazni (Ki-tz ï-ni).[71]

Yāḳūt[72] has some notes on the cloth manufacturing centers in the city. He mentioned Dabīḳīya, on the 'Isā canal, as one of those quarters, and this must have been where the supplies of that material were made for the consumption of Baghdad. If the evidence of Maḳrīzī is reliable, the import figure for the annual supply from Egypt is really very low for the province of Iraq,[73] amounting to between 20,000 and 30,000 dinars per annum, until 360 H. (970 A.D.) at least. It may be after this date that weavers from Egypt migrated to Baghdad to be freed of the restrictions placed on the industry by the government, and to set up factories in Baghdad. They were not the only people to give their name to a quarter of the city where textiles were manufactured, for Yāḳūt[74] also mentioned the Tustarīya Quarter, on the west side between the Tigris and Bāb al-Baṣra, where the people of Tustar used to live—"and Tustarī garments are made there." As Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Hibat Allāh ibn Ahmed al-Ḥarīrī al-Tustarī and another also with the name of al-Ḥarīrī were called Tustarī because they lived in this part of Baghdad, one may deduce that silk must have been handled there, and probably all the other Tustar fabrics. Khuzistan early exerted an influence on Baghdad, for Ṭabarī[75] mentioned a certain Abu Aiyūb al-Khūzī (of Khuzistan), who made tents of a certain stuff for Manṣūr, suggesting that this man had migrated to Baghdad, possibly into royal service.

In the later days of the caliphate, the trade in cloth migrated from the west side of Baghdad to the east side. Yāḳūt[76] said: "Suḳ al-Thalātha is the most populous market in Baghdad, because the market of the clothmakers (Sūḳ al-Bazzāzīn) is there." After the Mongol conquest, Abu 'l-Fidā'[77] stated that "Sūḳ al-Thalātha (Tuesday market) on the east bank of the Tigris later became the place where most clothmakers were established." As he followed mostly pre-Mongol sources, this doubtless refers to the latter period of the Abbasid era.

The Chinese translation of Yüan ch'ao pi shi gives a list of articles sent from Baghdad to Ogotai Khan (first half of the thirteenth century), which agrees well with the list of manufactures in Baghdad mentioned by Marco Polo:

Shiramala	(?)
Nakhut	(a kind of gold brocade) Arabic nakhkh
Nachidut	(a silk stuff interwoven with gold) Arabic nasīdj
Dardas	(a stuff embroidered with gold)
Subut	(pearls)
Tanas	(great pearls)[78]

[70] Chau Ju-Kua, *op. cit.*, I, 135 and 103.

[71] *Ibid.*, I, 138.

[72] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, II, 548. A certain Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Dabīḳī al-Bazzāz al-Baghdādi came from this quarter.

[73] See Chapter XV.

[74] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, I, 850.

[75] Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, ser. III, I, 417–18.

[76] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, I, 932. See also Yāḳūt on dār al-ḳazz in the first part of this chapter.

[77] Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed. T. Reinaud and M. de Slane (Paris, 1840), II, 69, following the Mushtarik.

[78] E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources* (London, 1910), II, 124.

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Marco Polo[79] said: "In Baudas (Baghdad) they weave many different kinds of silk stuffs and gold brocades such as nasich (nasīdj), and nac (nakhkh), and cramoisy (ḳirmizī), and many another tissue richly wrought with figures of beasts and birds." This seems to be a kind of ṭardwaḥsh. Another text adds: "Almost all the pearls that are brought from India to Christian countries are pierced in Baghdad."[80]

Still later Ibn Baṭūṭa (756 H. [1355 A.D.]) at Smyrna[81] was given two garments of a stuff called kamkhā: "It is a silk stuff (ḥarīr) made at Baghdad, Tabriz, Nishapur, and in China." These three cities were important under the Mongols, and they may have had something to do with the spread of the manufacture of this stuff from China, though that kind of material was not unknown to the Muslims before the conquest.

'Umarī remarked that the cotton and linen of Tunis are more perfect and more beautiful than the Naṣāfī (a white silk stuff) of Baghdad,[82] during the first half of the fourteenth century.

Very much later Pedro Teixeira[83] wrote that "there is produced in the environs (of Baghdad) much cotton and silk; all wrought up and used in the city, where there are more than four thousand weavers of wool, flax, cotton, and silk, who are never out of work."

The Jewish population of Baghdad was very large, and Benjamin of Tudela [84] spoke of a population of 40,000 Jews, and, though there is some doubt as to the figure, there were twenty-eight synagogues there. The professions of the Jews are not specified.

Ruṣāfa

Perhaps it was in Baghdad, in the district of al-Ruṣāfa, that the caps called Ruṣāfīya—a kind of headdress of the type known as "ḳalansuwa"—were made. Ibn Khalliḳān mentioned one of those caps when talking of Dja'far the Barmecide[85] and, according to Miskawaihī,[86] the Caliph Ṭā'i' wore a black turban of Ruṣāfa (375 H. [985–86 A.D.]). It is, of course, possible that they were named after Ruṣāfa in Syria.

[79] *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian,* trans. and annotated by H. Yule (London, 1875), I, 65.

[80] *The Travels of Marco Polo,* trans. by A. Ricci (London, 1931), p. 25.

[81] *Voyages d' Ibn Batoutah,* ed. and trans. by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti (Paris, 1853–59), II, 311. Cf. Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif,* p. 127. Ṭabarī (*op. cit.,* ser. III, II, 1169) quoted a poet of the Zuṭṭ describing his people as wearing Kamakhān of China (220 H. [835 A.D.]).

[82] 'Umarī, "I, L'Afrique, moins l'Égypte," *Masālik el abṣār fi mamālik el amṣār,* trans. by G. Demombynes (Paris, 1927), p. 111.

[83] *The Travels of P. Teixeira with His "Kings of Harmuz,"* trans. and annotated by W. F. Sinclair, further notes by D. Ferguson (London, 1902), p. 67.

[84] *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela,* ed. and trans. by M. N. Adler (London, 1907), p. 39.

[85] *Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary,* trans. by M. de Slane (Paris-London, 1843–71), I, 303.

[86] Miskawaihī, *op. cit.,* text, III, 123. Cf. also Ṭabarī, *op. cit.,* ser. III, 1368, and *Fragmenta historicorum arabicorum,* ed. P. De Jong and R. Dozy (Leyden, 1860), I, 31.

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CHAPTER III

THE MANUFACTURES OF IRAQ AND JAZIRA

THE LIST OF LOCAL PRODUCTS BROUGHT WITH THE TAX TO BAGHDAD IN THE TIME OF Ma'mūn[1] includes the very curious item of "two hundred Nadjrānī cloaks (ḥulla)." Baiḍāwī [2] described these as red cloaks, and they were sent in tribute to the early Muslims down to the time of Rashid. It was probably the Sawād of Iraq, though it might have been the Sawād, or surrounding district, of Baghdad that supplied these cloaks. The term Nadjrānī is difficult to explain, but Nadjrān in Arabia was part of Yemen, a province famous for its mantles, and so there may have been some similarity between these two manufactures.

Like Baghdad, the city of Kufa was an Arab foundation and grew to prominence very rapidly, gradually absorbing the populations of the neighboring Ḥīra and Ḳādisīya. Though of prime importance as a center of industry, and a center, doubtless, where the distinctively Islamic style was formed by the fusion of other elements, very little is known about it (Map 2).

Djāḥiz[3] reported that the best kind of figured stuff (washī) is the Sābirī, and the Kufan, and the ibrīsm-silk kind, the woven-gold kind (al-mudhahhab al-mansūdj), and then the Alexandrine kind of pure linen (kattān) which is woven with gold (mansūdj bi-dhahab); the *Kitāb al-Muwashshā*[4] mentions Kufan silks (khazz) among the garments worn by the fashionable. Ibn al-Faḳīh[5] stated that it has special manufactures of washī-silk and khazz-silk, while Ibn Ḥawḳal[6] found that its qualities closely resembled those of Basra. Maḳdisi[7] said that the turbans ('imāma) of khazz-silk made in Kufa are one of the specialties of Iraq, and that even the Sūsī turbans cannot equal the soft thin stuff (sakb) of Kufa.[8]

There is some uncertainty as to the meaning of the term Sābirī, which is discussed by the editor of Djāḥiz:

> It is derived from Sābūr. In the tradition of Ḥabīb ibn Abī Thābit, it says: "I saw Ibn 'Abbās wearing a Sābirī garment (thawb) which was transparent. They call any fine thing Sābirī, its origin being in the Sābirī breastplates (durū')." The *Tādj* says: "Sābirī is a very fine robe." Dhū Rumma said:
>
> "She brought a spider's web, resembling the loose-woven Sābirī on her limbs (Sābirī mushabraḳ)." [9]

[1] See the list from the *Djirāb al-Dawla,* quoted on p. 63.

[2] Baiḍāwī, *Tafsīr* (Cairo, 1306 H.), II, 22 (commentary on Sura III, verse 54).

[3] Djāḥiz, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tidjāra," *Revue de l'acad. arabe de Damas,* XII (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 334.

[4] Al-Washshā', *Kitāb al-Muwashsha,* ed R. E. Brünnow (Leyden, 1886), p. 124. Cf. *Aghānī,* V, 294: Five chests of Kufan washī.

[5] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Compendium libri Kitāb al-Boldān, B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1885), V, 50 and 252.

[6] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Opus Geographicum,* ed. J. H. Kramers (2d ed.; Leyden, 1938–39), p. 239.

[7] Maḳdisī, *Descriptio imperii Moslemici, B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1906), III, 128.

[8] *Ibid.,* p. 416.

[9] Djāḥiz, *op. cit.,* pp. 334–35.

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Tha'ālibī,[10] however, derives the name from Nishapur. I think this Sābirī stuff, despite what the other authors have said, may have come from Bīshāpūr in Fars rather than from Nishapur, because that city was mostly ruined in Maḳdisī's and Tha'ālibī's time and may have been almost unknown to the latter. Washī is not given as one of the products of Nishapur. It is known that there was an important ṭirāz in Bīshāpūr, but no author has paid much attention to its products, though inscribed ṭirāzī textiles from that place are known to archaeologists.

Mas'ūdī[11] stated that Narsī stuffs (thiyāb) were made along the canal of Nars, which had existed from Sasanian times. Yāḳūt,[12] too, knew that "people and Narsī stuffs are called after it." Again, when discussing Abū Muslim, Mas'ūdī[13] said: "He was one of the people of Burs and al-Djāmi'ān (Ḥilla) of the village called Khartīnīya, with which Bursī garments are connected, known as Khartīnīya. It is one of the districts of Kufa and its Sawād."

Of two other cities, Maḳdisī[14] added: "The handkerchiefs (manādīl) of al-Ḳaṣr and al-Buwaib are among the specialties of Iraq."

The district of Maisān in southeastern Iraq is famous for the type of cloth which derives its name from that locality. Even in pre-Islamic times, if one can trust Azraḳī's sources, it supplied the Arabs with precious stuffs, for he said that the mother of Zaid ibn Thābit saw on the Kaaba, when the prophet was there, "various coverings of striped Yemen stuffs (waṣā'il), carpets (anṭā'), stuffs called kurr (pl. kirār), silk (khazz), and Iraqi carpets (namāriḳ), that is to say Maisānī."[15] Djāḥiz stated:

> From Maisān come carpets (anmāṭ) and cushions (wasīda) and[16] the best and most expensive carpetings (fursh) include, after the Armenian and khusrawānī Rūmī (literally the Roman, i.e., Byzantine, kingly [of Chosroeic] type, possibly the manufactures of Khuzistan being intended), of brocade, khazz-silk brocaded (mudabbadj) in the Maisānī fashion.[17]

Neither Armenian nor Maisānī fabrics were ever interwoven with gold. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim[18] cited the velvets of the Sawād (ḳuṭuf Sawādīya) as a typical furnishing of the houses of Isfahan.

Ibn Rusta (290 H. [903 A.D.]) said of Djabbul: "It is one of the towns of Maisān where Maisānī garments are made."[19] He added that the sultan had a kitchen (ṭabīkh) there, and

[10] Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-Ḳulūb* (Cairo, 1326 H. [1908 A.D.]), p. 429. Muhammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Tādj al-'Arūs* (Cairo, 1307 H. [1888–90 A.D.]), III, 253. Ibn Sa'd, *Biographien Muhammeds, seiner Gefährten, und der späteren Träger des Islams bis zum Jahre 230 der Flucht*, ed. E. Sachau and others (Leyden, 1904–21), VI, 231, for a Sābirī turban. See Djarīr and Farazdaḳ, *Naḳā'id*, ed. A. A. Bevan (Leyden, 1905–09), Index.

[11] Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab, Les Prairies d'or* (Paris, 1861–77), II, 115.

[12] Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān, Geographisches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1866–73), IV, 773.

[13] Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, VI, 59. Possibly this should be read Nars though the name is found in Yāḳūt.

[14] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

[15] Azraḳī in *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1857–61), I, 174.

[16] Djāḥiz, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 346.

[18] Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, *Hikāyat Abi 'l-Ḳāsim* (Heidelberg, 1902), p. 37.

[19] Ibn Rusta, *Kitāb al-A'lāḳ al-Nafīsa*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1892), III, 186–87.

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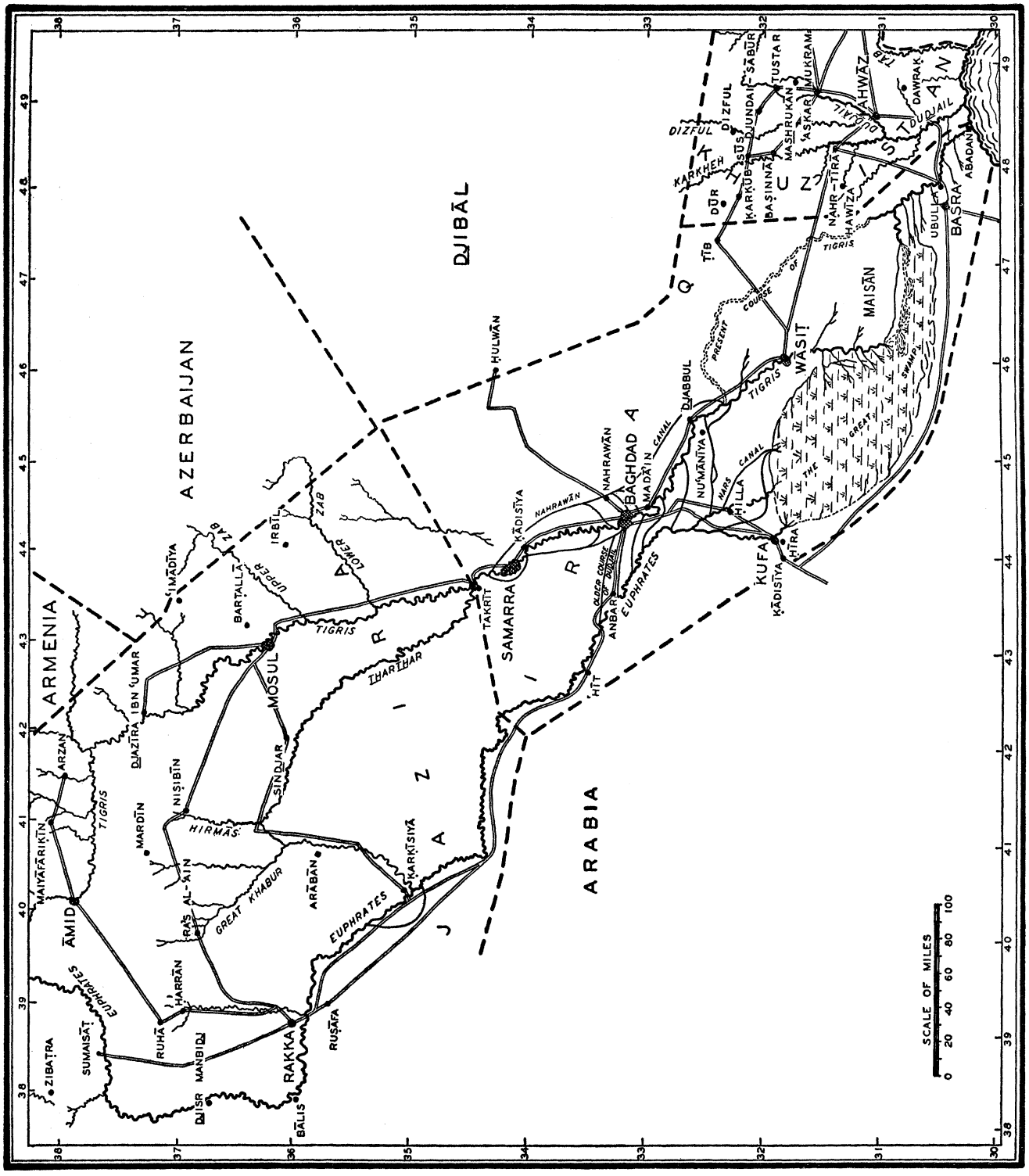

MAP 2.—Jazira and Iraq.

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for this perhaps one should read ṭirāz, but this emendation is purely conjectural and has no support whatsoever. Ibn al-Faḳīh reported:

The people of the Tigris district (Kūra Didjla) and the Sawād, Maisān, and Dast Maisān have the manufacture of curtains (sutūr), carpets (busuṭ), and the other makes of Maisānī, silk (ḥarīr), darānik-carpets, dūrank (bi-colored) carpets, and other kinds of furnishings and carpets (fursh wa-busuṭ) which are not to be found elsewhere.[20]

These durnūk-carpets are said by Djawālīḳī[21] to be a kind of ṭinfisa-carpet (a word which, according to Mez,[22] is derived from Greek) and bisāṭ (large carpet), but he remarked that others described them as curtains (sutūr) and large carpets (furūsh) with yellow and green color in them. Some said they had a short pile (khaml ḳaṣīr) like the pile of towels (khaml al-manādīl). The hair of the camel (farwa al-ba'īr) has been compared to them. These carpets, compared with other types, figure very little in Arabic and Persian literature.

Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi[23] included Maisān in a list of cities famous for their manufactures of stuffs, most of the others being ṭirāz cities, while in the *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif*[24] the carpets (miṭraḥ) of Maisān are mentioned as articles de luxe about the time of 'Aḍud al-Dawla. These same Maisān carpets (miṭraḥ) are also cited by Nuwairī[25] as being of a very choice kind.

Very near the border of Khuzistan, Ṭīb was especially renowned for making trousercords (tikka) and other materials. Iṣṭakhrī[26] stated: "In Ṭīb trousercords resembling the Armenian kind are made. There are few better made in any Islamic country than those, except Armenia, so far as I know." Another manuscript adds: ". . . . except what has been introduced in Ṭūs, and they make there a kind that is better than the Ṭīb kind." This statement is not reproduced in Ibn Ḥawḳal,[27] who said:

In Ṭīb trousercords are made resembling the Armenian kind. Rarely is there found in any place of Islam after Armenia, better or more splendid ones than these. Although those made in Salmās[28] are of the same kind, they do not fetch anything like their price nor approach anywhere near them in beauty. It is a middling and pleasant city with robes (aksiya) and camelots (barrakānāt).[29]

The first authority to mention these trouserbands who has come to my notice is the anonymous writer of the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* so possibly this manufacture was introduced into

[20] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

[21] Djawālīḳī, *Kitāb al-Mu 'arrab,* ed. E. Sachau (Leipzig, 1867), p. 68.

[22] A. Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam,* trans. by Salahuddin Khuda Bukhsh and D. S. Margoliouth (London, 1937). Because of the printing many references in this work are inaccurate.

[23] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *Al-'Iḳd al-Farīd* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), IV, 267.

[24] Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif,* ed. P. de Jong (Leyden, 1867), p. 132.

[25] Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1923–27), I, 356.

[26] Iṣṭakhrī, *Viae regnorum . . . .,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1870), I, 94.

[27] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

[28] Reading Salmās with the extract quoted by the editor of the "Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tidjāra," p. 438. The *B.G.A.* has Sidjilmāsa, which is improbable.

[29] Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī (*op. cit.*, p. 8) wrote of "the beauty of the ṭirāz-border of his barrakān." Cf. also Chapter IV (Khuzistan).

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Ṭūs between the time of Iṣṭakhrī (340 H. [951 A.D.]) and the authorship of the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* (372 H. [982 A.D.]). This work also says: "Ṭīb produces very good trousercords just like the Armenian."[30] Idrīsī added: "They make trousercords similar to those made in Armenia, which are superior to all those made in Muslim countries, and black mantles (barrakānāt) the price of which is very high."[31]

Wāsiṭ was founded by the Arabs in 83 H. (702 A.D.), and from the list of stuffs made there, one sees that the influence of the Khuzistan group was the more prominent cultural element there. Djāḥiz[32] declared that the best crimson (ḳirmiz) is dyed in certain places of the land of Wāsiṭ. The Wāsiṭ curtains displayed by al-Muḳtadir bi'llāh in 305 H. (917 A.D.) for the visit of the Byzantine embassy have already been mentioned.[33] According to the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* "Wāsiṭ exports gilīms, trousercords, and dyed wool."[34] Maḳdisī numbered curtains (sutūr) of Wāsiṭ among the products of Iraq,[35] and further added: "In Wāsiṭ curtains are made with 'mimmā 'umila bi-Baṣinnā' written on them, which are exported as coming from that place, but they are not like them."[36]

Ḥīra declined in Islamic times, probably because of the fact that, according to Idrīsī,[37] the population of Ḥīra and Ḳādisīya had migrated to Kufa, leaving the older cities smaller in size. Ibn Baṭūṭa[38] spoke of brocade (dībādj), silk (ḥarīr), and figured washī-stuff as existing in Ḥīra in pre-Islamic times, but these stories seem legendary. The weavers in Ḥīra were mainly Christians. Of Nu'mānīya, Ibn Rusta[39] said: "Ḥīra carpets (ṭinfisa) are made there, it being one of the towns of Ḥīra." Maḳdisi,[40] too, noted: "At al-Nu'mānīya beautiful robes (aksiya) and garments (thiyāb) of honey-colored wool are made."

The cosmopolitan city of Basra was settled with many races, and Balādhurī[41] even stated that Bukharans were settled in it by various governors, as also in Wāsiṭ. If one is to believe the boast of the ambassador to 'Abd al-Malik (64–73 H. [683–92 A.D.]), it was early famous for its textile manufactures:

> Madā'inī said: "Khālid ibn Ṣafwān came on an embassy to 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, and met, at his court, embassies from all the provinces. Now Maslama had made factories (maṣāni') for him ('Abd al-Malik), and he asked 'Abd al-Malik to allow the embassies to go with him to those factories. Permission was granted. When Maslama inspected them, he was pleased with them, and, turning to the Meccans, he said: "Oh people of Mecca, have you any factories like this?" "No," they replied, "but we have the house of God which is used as the kiblah." . . . Maslama then asks each of the embassies in turn if they have such fine factories as his, till eventually he comes to the Basran envoy,

[30] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* trans. by V. Minorsky, Gibb. Mem. Ser. (London, 1937), n.s., XI, 130.

[31] Idrīsī, *Géographie,* trans. by P. A. Jaubert (Paris, 1836–40), I, 384.

[32] Djāḥiz, *op. cit.,* p. 339.

[33] See p. 75.

[34] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* p. 138.

[35] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.,* p. 129.

[36] *Ibid.,* p. 416 "manufacture of Baṣinnā."

[37] Idrīsī, *op. cit.,* I, 366.

[38] *Voyages d' Ibn Batoutah,* ed. and trans. by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti (Paris, 1853–59), III, 209.

[39] Ibn Rusta, *op. cit.,* p. 186.

[40] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.,* p. 128.

[41] Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān,* trans. by P. Hitti (New York, 1916), index under Wāsiṭ.

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who replies: "We are the people who have the most ivory (ʿādj), ebony (sādj), silk (khazz), and brocade (dībādj)."[42]

Ibn al-Faḳīh,[43] earlier than Yāḳūt quoted this phrase as having been coined in the time of Hishām, and this doubtless is the more correct version, for Maslama was the adviser to the Umayyad dynasty until the reign of this latter monarch.

The *Ḥudūd*[44] says: "Basra produces cloths (fūṭa) as well as linen and cotton stuff of high quality (djāmā-hā-yi-katān-va khīsh-i-murtafiʿ)." Maḳdisī[45] cited Djāḥiz as quoting the "manufacture (ṣanāʿa) at Basra" as one of the remarkable things for which it is famous above all other cities, and added:

> Have you not heard of the silken stuffs (khazz) of Basra, and its cloth (bazz), of the rare and outstanding wares in it? For it is a mine of pearls and jewels, a port of the sea, and an emporium of the land, and a place for the manufacture of cinnabar (rāsukht), red lead (zindjafr), and proto-oxide of lead (murdāsandj). From it dates and henna are exported to all countries. They have silk (khazz), violets, and rosewater.[46]

Nāṣir-i-Khusraw[47] stated that Laḥsā weaves cloths (fūṭa) which it exports to Basra and other countries. Benjamin of Tudela[48] reported that Basra had many Jews, as one might expect in so commercial a city.

Ibn Ḳutaiba (213–*ca.* 276 H. [828–*ca.* 889 A.D.]) gave a hint at the fashion of stuffs those silks were: "Abū Ḥātim said: 'Al-ʿUtbī relates: "I have seen at Basra cloaks (burūd) sewn with the blossoms of Spring which caught the eye, and those who wore them were still more striking." ' "[49] The Mongol invasion of 656 H. (1258 A.D.) caused a gap in the history of the town, and because of the neglect of the canal system it seems to have become deserted.

Ubulla was famous for one thing only, its turbans, and many authors have mentioned them. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* says: "From it come the Bulli kerchiefs and turbans (dastār va-ʿamāma-yi bullī)."[50] Maḳdisī stated: "In Ubulla are made garments of linen (kattān), after the manufacture of ḳaṣab (a linen stuff often decorated with gold or silver)."[51] These turbans are mentioned by Thaʿālibī,[52] Gharnāṭī,[53] and Nuwairī.[54]

The main point of interest about this group is that the three largest cities were Arab foundations with a mixed population, strongly influenced, no doubt, by the Fars-Khuzistan group, itself largely founded with prisoners from the eastern part of the Byzantine empire.

[42] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.* I, 649. If any reliance could be placed on this passage, it would, of course, show that state factories existed in the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik.

[43] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

[44] *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, p. 139.

[45] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 128 (for the second khazz, perhaps one ought to read djūr = "rosewater" which would suit the context better.

[47] Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. and trans. by C. Schefer (Paris, 1881), text, p. 83, trans., p. 228.

[48] *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, trans. by M. N. Adler (London, 1907), p. 51.

[49] Ibn Ḳutaiba al-Dinawārī, *ʿUyūn al-Aḫbār*, (Cairo, 1343 H. [1925 A.D.]), I, 217. See E. Blochet, *Musulman Painting, XIIth–XVIIth Century* (London, 1929), Pl. VIII.

[50] *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, p. 138.

[51] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

[52] Thaʿālibī, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

[53] "Le *Tuḥfat al-Albāb* de Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-Gharnāṭī," *Journ. asiatique*, CCVII (1925), 211.

[54] Nuwairī, *op. cit.*, I, 356.

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Information about this area is meager, but the trousercords of Ṭīb, compared to the Armenian kind, might thus ultimately trace back their origin to the latter province, both as regards design and technique.[55]

The Iraq silks were always famous, and the *Aghānī*[56] states that Mus'ab ibn Zubair sent to 'Umar ibn Abī Rabī'a garments of the figured washī-stuffs and khazz-silk of Iraq, about the middle of the first century of the Hijra. The *Aghānī* also refers to the silken robes of Iraq in the governorship of al-Ḥadjdjādj (the first century H.).[57] The products of Iraq were exported far and wide, miṭraf cloaks, tents (surādiḳāt), and Djaʿfarī silk (khazz) being noted in a present made to al-Nāṣir, the Umayyad caliph in Spain during the year 327 H. (939 A.D.).[58] The Fatimids, too, stored silks from Iraq in their treasuries, and *The Arabian Nights*[59] mentions silken hair strings (djadā'il al-shaʿr) of Iraqi silk (al-ḥarīr al-'Irāḳī), probably referring to the Mameluke period.

NORTHERN MESOPOTAMIA

There are several villages in the vicinity of Baghdad where various types of cloth were woven. Yāḳūt's *Encyclopaedia* records: "In Ḥarbā coarse cotton garments which are taken to other lands, are woven.[60]. . . In Ḥaẓīra the garments of close-woven muslin (kirbās) textiles which merchants carry to other lands, are woven."[61] The most curious notice is to be found in Yaʿḳūbī: "In Nahrawān are made the carpets (fursh) of which Armenian stuff is manufactured, and then they are taken to Armenia and spun and woven there."[62]

Of Anbār, a Sasanian arsenal from the time of Shāpūr II (310–79 A.D.), Idrīsī[63] asserted that they made stuffs for export. This is the sole reference to a city where it is virtually certain that there were many cloth factories. Maḳdisī[64] reported that Takrīt is the home of workers in wool, numbering the wool of Takrīt among the special products of Iraq. Idrīsī[65] added that most of the inhabitants were Christians.

Jazira was very closely connected with Armenia, and probably strongly influenced by the Armenian types of textiles, which were exported downstream to Baghdad and Persia.

Mosul, the capital, has always been a celebrated weaving center. Djāḥiz[66] stated that curtains (sutūr) and striped robes (musūḥ[67]) came from Mosul. The *Laṭā'if al-Maʿārif*,[68] too,

[55] R. Pfister, "Les Premières soies sassanides," *Études d'orientalisme publiées par le Musée Guimet à le mémoire de Raymonde Linossier* (Paris, 1932), pp. 461–79.

[56] *Aghānī*, IX, 244.

[57] *Ibid.*, VI, 35.

[58] Maḳḳarī, *Analectes sur l'histoire et la littérature des arabes en Espagnes*, ed. R. Dozy and others (Leyden, 1855–61), I, 229–31. See the note on Djaʿfarī in Chapter XVII.

[59] *The Arabian Nights*, trans. by E. W. Lane (New York, 1927), pp. 362–63. *Alf Laila wa-Laila* (Beyrouth, 1914), II, 222.

[60] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, II, 235. Repeated in Yāḳūt, *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ*, ed. T. G. J. Juynboll (Leyden, 1850–64), p. 295.

[61] Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-Buldān*, II, 292.

[62] Yaʿḳūbī, *Kitāb al-Boldān*, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1892), VII, 322.

[63] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, II, 469.

[64] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, pp. 197 and 128.

[65] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, I, 147.

[66] Djāḥiz, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

[67] The editor of the *Tabaṣṣur* cited Ibn Sīda, saying that the miṣḥ is a striped robe (kisā' mukhaṭṭaṭ).

[68] Thaʿālibī, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

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mentions the curtains of Mosul in a long list of fine stuffs. In a story set in the reign of Rashid, *The Arabian Nights*[69] makes mention of a turban, as worn by the viziers, except that it was of the Mosul kind, and, again,[70] in Baghdad, of a Mosul izār (woman's cloak) of silk, with a gold-embroidered shoe, with a border (ḥāshiya) of ḳaṣab and a cord hanging loose.

Marco Polo stated: "All the cloths of gold and silk that are called Mosolins are made in this country; and these great merchants called Mosolins who carry for sale such quantities of spicery and pearls, and the cloths of silk and gold, are also from this kingdom."[71] Sharaf Khan Bidlīsī (1005 H. [1596 A.D.]) said: "At Mosul 'boucassins' (Būghāṣī) of great price, are made .... the black stuffs of Mosul are quite lovely."[72]

Of Mardīn, Ibn Baṭūṭa observed: "They make stuffs here which take the name of the town, and which are made with wool (ṣūf) known as Mir'izz (a name given to the finest goathair)."[73] Niṣibīn, too, belongs to this group. Mas'ūdi mentioned that Roman prisoners were settled in Niṣibīn and Manūt, and curtains (sutūr) and carpeting (fursh) are made there to this day.[74] Ibn Ḥawḳal[75] commented that it had cotton and Idrīsī,[76] that it had many industries, notably the manufacture of beautiful stuffs.

Ra's al-'Ain, according to Iṣṭakhrī,[77] mostly produced and exported cotton. "To Ḥazza are ascribed the Naṣāfī cloths of Ḥazza, which are inferior cotton cloths," said Yāḳūt.[78] Ḥarrān, too, produced cotton, according to Maḳdisī.[79]

Yāḳūt[80] cited Ibn Ḳutaiba as speaking of a Manbidjī robe, while Abu'l-Fidā' said that most of its trees were mulberries for the silk (ḳazz).[81] 'Arābān, said Ibn Ḥawḳal,[82] "has much cotton, garments of this material being brought from it and despatched to Syria (Sha'm)."

The port of the province was Djazīra ibn 'Umar (Zabdicena), of which Idrīsī[83] wrote: "Djazīra ibn 'Umar is an emporium for trade with Armenia and the Armenian country of Maiyafāriḳain and Arzan. It is there that the ships laden with merchandise for Mosul stop."

Mustawfī's[84] list of cotton-growing towns in this region comprises Irbīl, Bāṣabda, Arzan, Ra's al-'Ain, Barṭallā, Mardīn.

[69] *The Arabian Nights,* trans. by Lane, p. 44.

[70] *Ibid.,* p. 110.

[71] *The Book of Ser Marco Polo,* trans. and annotated by H. Yule (London, 1875), I, 62.

[72] Sharaf Khan Bidlīsī, *Scheref Nameh ou Fastes de la nation kourde,* trans. by F. B. Charmoy (St. Petersburg, 1868–75), I, 224.

[73] Ibn Baṭūṭa, *op. cit.,* II, 143f.

[74] Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.,* II, 185–86. Cf. Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-Ḳulūb,* p. 428: the curtains of Niṣibīn (sutūr). Ibn Baṭūṭa (*op. cit.,* II, 388) confirmed this name, but if the *Mu'djam* (II, 469) is followed, one should read Baṣinnā and Mattūth, both in Khuzistan.

[75] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.,* p. 213.

[76] Idrīsī, *op. cit.,* II, 150.

[77] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.,* p. 74.

[78] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.,* II, 263.

[79] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.,* p. 145.

[80] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.,* IV, 655; and Sharaf Khan Bidlīsī, *op. cit.,* I, 277.

[81] Abu'l-Fidā', *op. cit.,* text, pp. 270–71.

[82] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.,* p. 222.

[83] Idrīsī, *op. cit.,* II, 153.

[84] Hamd-Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-Ḳulūb,* trans. by G. Le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser. (Leyden-London, 1919), XXIII, II, 102–5.

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